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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 103

EDITORIALS:
- Austria in Collapse 107
- More Soup Kitchens? 108
- Don't Give Up the American Ship! 109
- The Progress of Prose 109
- Canceling International Orders 110

THE FRENCH CASE FOR GERMAN INDEMNITY. By Maurice Casenave 111

RUSSIA AT PEACE. By Paxton Hibben 113

THE THREE-SHIFT SYSTEM STEEL INDUSTRY. By Henry Wood Shelton 115

WHY IS A FARMER? By Felix Sper 116

POETAE MINORES. By Albert Edmund Trombly 117

NON-COOPERATION—INDIA'S NEW WEAPON. By Yogiraja 118

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 120

CORRESPONDENCE 120

BEN TROVATO. By Edwin Arlington Robinson 121

MURIEL AMONG THE REDWOODS. By James Rorty 121

BOOKS:
- Black Facing White. By O. G. V 121
- Hungry. By C. V. D 122
- Arthur Hugh Clough. By M. V. D 123
- Books in Brief 123

ART:
- An American Painter. By Pierre Loving 125

DRAMA:
- Interlude. By Ludwig Lewisohn 126

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- The Balance-Sheet of Austrian Misery 127
- Labor and Unemployment in England 128
- The Berne Manifesto 128

SUPPLEMENT:
- Report of the British Labor Commission to Ireland 131

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ARISTIDE BRIAND is the Lloyd George of French politics. He is thoroughly and ably opportunist, willing to drop his past beliefs and forget his former utterances to meet the parliamentary majority of the moment, a brilliant orator, and a skilful negotiator. His appointment as successor of the negligible Leygues as Prime Minister of France means nothing as regards French policy. He will be able to make fiery speeches eating Germany alive in the Chamber, and then follow England's lead in a policy of amicable compromise. He was the apostle of the general strike as the working class's best weapon in his younger days; yet it was he who, as Prime Minister in 1910, first called the railwaymen into the army as a means of defeating a strike. Unlike his fellow-apostate from socialism, Millerand, he has managed to continue his friendship with the leaders of the Left; yet his cabinet contains some of the bitterest jingoes in France. Poincaré may yet carry his campaign for the use of the mailed fist to victory, but if Briand sees the wind blowing in that direction, he may trim his sails to meet the gale and be first in any port.

POOR old Leon Jouhaux! He climbed to the top rung in the French Confederation of Labor as a revolutionary syndicalist, decrying all wars as capitalist wars and recognizing no such thing as a war of defense; then, at Jaurès's grave, on August 4, 1914, he announced his intention of volunteering as a private in the army; a month later, still in civilian clothes, he fled to Bordeaux on a Government train; all through the war, under a special dispensation for civilian duty, he made speeches and fought the home battles for the successive Governments of France; and since the armistice he has battled unceasingly against the Reds in the ranks of labor. And now, when he might be expecting a decoration and a rosette, his friend the Government turns upon him, fines him, and orders his Confederation of Labor dissolved —because of the railroad strike last May, a strike which Jouhaux did his best to prevent. Gompers, still smarting from the Supreme Court's treatment of his carefully nursed Clayton Act, must feel in a mood to collaborate with Jouhaux in a ditty to be dedicated to labor with a running refrain: Put not your faith in Governments. Meanwhile, the 800 local unions which make up the French Confederation will continue functioning; and Zinoviev, who has been working from Moscow to break up Jouhaux's organization and make way for a newer, more radical body, must be grinning a bolshevik grin. Jouhaux kept the French unions from indorsing Moscow last summer; but the French Government seems determined to fight Moscow's battles for it.

SANTO DOMINGO has a distressing way of popping into all the news that comes out of Latin America. When Secretary Colby visited Buenos Aires in pompous state, he learned that a mild-mannered Santo Dominican delegation had been there before him, telling what American marines were doing in the Caribbean island republics. And while Samuel Gompers was presiding over the sessions of the Second Pan-American Labor Congress, the question of Santo Domingo intruded again, some of the delegates even threatening to leave the Congress unless Mr. Gompers at once forwarded to President Wilson the unanimous protest of the Latin Americans against American occupation of Santo Domingo. The Administration's latest proposals mean nothing but "a repulsive protectorate," the Santo Dominican delegate asserted, and, he continued, "American bayonets are supporting American capital in Santo Domingo. The American Government is not actuated by love of liberty, but because the country is a valuable field for American expansion and American capital and because it is valuable for strategic purposes." The Latins all applauded. Samuel Gompers has a long record of service to the cause of Mexican-American friendship; perhaps this Congress may teach him that Mexico is not the only playground of American imperialism.

IN the Czecho-Slovak Republic the very nearly four millions of Germans who form one-third of its total population are being hard pressed despite constitutional provisions and specific safeguards introduced into the agreements between the Republic and the Entente. A policy of Slavization has already closed 754 classes and 35 German schools in German districts. Similar complaints come from the Siebenbürgen Saxons in Transylvanian Rumania, the German minority in Jugoslavia, and the Germans of Riga

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whose historic playhouse has been confiscated by the Letts. What applies to these German minorities whose cultural equipment makes them the first to become articulate, applies with equal force to the Slovaks in Bohemia, the Jews and Ukrainians in Poland, the Bulgars in Greece. The immediate menace of famine and economic collapse must not cause thoughtful men to forget that only the scrapping of the Versailles treaty on its territorial as well as on its economic side can save Europe from the tragedy of half-a-dozen Irelands under the heel of tyrannies more blind and ruthless.

IT was probably clever of General Smuts to force a general election in South Africa now, and to push forward the question of secession as the chief campaign issue. The Nationalists have been aggressive enough and numerically strong enough lately to worry the Unionist minority and to make it susceptible to General Smuts's plea for its cooperation in a new "center" party headed by Smuts himself. On the other hand the Nationalists had their chance to join with the South African Party and were forced to take a stand flatly in favor of secession—a subject which they have talked much of in general terms and have been extremely cautious about approaching as a practical political issue. The Labor Party, although a growing force, is split by internal dissension, and is unprepared for a campaign fought on an imperial issue in which there is little chance to bring forward its economic grievances. Thus General Smuts, by taking his enemies unawares and by utilizing to the full their fears and weaknesses, may be able to secure the majority he so sorely needs. But it will be an unstable majority at best, composed of elements which will fly apart when the time comes to meet domestic issues, and one faced by a powerful Nationalist opposition which can afford to bide its time and will carry on its propaganda for independence and separation under any government that may be formed.

AS a propaganda organization the State Department runs Mitchell Palmer's Department of Justice a close second. Its latest achievement is a letter addressed to Alton B. Parker of the National Civic Federation, in reply to a series of questions about Russian policy which the League of Free Nations Association had put to presidential candidates some ten weeks before. The League charged that the State Department obstructed relief to Russia; Secretary Davis sends to the press his letter stating that this is "unqualifiedly false," whereas the uniform testimony of the four relief societies which have sought to send supplies to Russia is that they have been hampered at every step by this very Department, and that they have in some cases been compelled to ship their supplies to Hamburg and have them reshipped from there. The State Department says that "the only relief work which the Soviet (*sic*) will tolerate is the direct gift of supplies to the Soviet Government to be distributed as their own largesse." The American Friends Service Committee, however, has already distributed through its own workers almost $200,000 worth of supplies in Moscow and Petrograd. There are other "errors" in the Secretary's letter; but the significant fact is that he no longer dares bray a defiance to the entire world; he would have us believe that in fact the Department seeks only to encourage relief for Russia and that it will grant passports to travelers to and from Russia. We greet these assertions with incredulous enthusiasm.

THOSE vociferous representatives of the old Russian regime who have been making themselves heard in every corner of the world in loud praise of starvation and invasion as the proper methods of combating the present system of government in Russia, must be crestfallen at the news from Paris. Led by Kerensky, a group of anti-Bolshevists who were members of the Constituent Assembly are meeting to discuss Russia's future. But they have decided, contrary to the custom in such matters, to abandon the discredited methods of the past and attempt simply to "create a unity of basic social-political aims and . . . to create a close bond between ourselves and the people, the great masses of peasants and workers." They look forward hopefully to the day when the Russian people, "by their own action and free will, will restore and recognize a legally constituted Russian state." This is a legitimate hope, and if they can accomplish it by organization and propaganda no one can complain. Meanwhile their words in condemnation of the intervention policy of the Allies, in opposition to the blockade, and in vigorous repudiation of the suggestion that German troops be used to overthrow the Bolsheviki must fall like drops of acid in the ears of those Russian "patriots" who for three years have told the world that Russian children must be starved that the Czar's friends might again come into their own.

THE Commission on Conditions in Ireland, instituted by *The Nation*, resumed its sessions in Washington on January 13 in order to hear the testimony of the Lord Mayor of Cork, Donal O'Callaghan, and the Mayor of Thurles and other witnesses, and it meets again this week. The Commission remains greatly handicapped because of its inability to obtain pro-English witnesses, or to receive permission to cross the ocean for testimony as to the English side on the spot or in England. Meanwhile, the situation in Ireland itself remains unchanged. Atrocities continue on both sides, relieved only by the rumor that Lloyd George is now going to reverse his policy and remove the gangs of gunmen who have committed so many atrocities. President De Valera remains in seclusion, but his presence in Ireland is no longer denied by British officials and there is growing evidence that he is throwing his influence to the side of moderation and against the policy of force. His promised statement to Ireland has not appeared at this writing. The British Labor Commission has now published a report, supplementary to the one in this issue of *The Nation*, again attacking the Government, this time for "deliberate faking of a photograph portraying a battle scene," giving a "fanciful and highly colored report of the battle of Tralee," etc., and, what is even more serious, recorded an attack by Crown forces upon a witness who had testified before them in their inquiry. Finally, Dublin was subjected to a wholesale raid on January 16, which resulted in eight arrests but not in the capture of the important leaders whom the Government sought. The detention and imprisonment of hundreds of Irishmen without charges being preferred against them, and without having their day in court, continue.

WHILE liberals and socialists all over the world protested against the death sentences imposed upon the former Hungarian commissars, and while the governments which presumably supervise Hungary's affairs turned their eyes away and said nothing, the Russian Government in its usual alert style secured the pardon of the condemned

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men by threatening to cut the throat of every Hungarian officer in Russia. The shocking character of such a threat needs to be dwelt on, but the actual results were good. The commissars were ordered pardoned and a Hungarian emissary is on his way to Reval to arrange for the release of some six thousand officers of the Hungarian army.

DISTINCTLY disappointing is the final action of Congress in regard to the army. Having first boldly reduced the enlisted forces to 150,000, the Senate receded from its position and raised the limit to 175,000. In this the House concurred, and Secretary Baker, whose conduct in the matter of recruiting was again roundly denounced, is now instructed to reduce the army as rapidly as possible to the new size—provided, of course, that Mr. Wilson does not veto the bill. Unfortunately, the reduction only affects the enlisted men and our heavily over-officered army remains more top-heavy than ever. More than that, our officer propagandists for larger forces remain in the service. In other words, the army is skeletonized to a degree and we shall have a larger number of regimental organizations only one-third to one-half full, which from any point of view is wasteful and inefficient. Congress should have relegated at least half of the officers to private life and reduced the number of organizations to a point where those surviving could be properly manned. But Congress has never learned anything about conducting a military or naval organization economically. It now remains to be seen what procedure it will adopt in regard to the navy. Fortunately, the trend for disarmament continues strong. There is the New York *Mail*, for instance, which but the other day was calling for universal military service, now declaring that "huge armaments breed distrust and vicious rivalries." "Why not," it asks, "give our billion a year, if we must give it up, to building friendship with other nations, instead of building battleships to encourage enemies and death?" Dangerous pacifist stuff this!

IN the matter of an army Germany is now much more fortunate than we are, for it has been compelled to reduce its establishment to 100,000, including officers. Whereas we have 15,000 officers to 175,000 men, it has 4,000 officers to 96,000 men. Germany is fortunate, too, in that the Entente has abolished its general staff which was such a curse to the country, and the army is federalized instead of being made up of separate armies from Bavaria, Baden, Prussia, and the other states of the Empire. The army is forbidden the use of tanks and gas—as all armies ought to be. But best of all, it is to be a democratic army, this new German one, for it is to be governed in part by an army council whose members shall be elected from the force itself, each rank having representation. Its mission is to be an advisory council to the new Minister of Defense. What a revolution this connotes! America has never had a democratic army, and we have taken not a step in that direction despite the effectiveness of the new Russian armies, in which, if reports are correct, there remains much of the amazing democratization that came with the revolution.

BY common consent our national House of Representatives is too large. It has long since virtually ceased to exist as a deliberative assembly, and accomplishes what it does only through an elaborate committee system. Any change in size ought to be one to make it smaller, but here comes its Census Committee with a report urging an increase of the membership by forty-eight—from 435 to 483. On the basis of the 1910 census one Representative was allowed for 211,877 inhabitants. The ratio proposed on the basis of the 1920 census is one Representative for 218,979 inhabitants. No State would lose any Representative and twenty-five would make gains. California would be the chief beneficiary, with five extra seats, while Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania would each get four.

THE Census Committee ignored the proposal of Representative Tinkham to reduce the representation of States which disfranchise the Negro, although such action is required by the Constitution as well as by the most elementary considerations of justice. *The Nation* lately pointed out that in the Presidential election of 1916 the ten States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia cast only 8 per cent of the nation's popular vote but cast 21 per cent of the vote in the Electoral College. A similar ratio was in evidence last November, while the figures from certain individual States show an even more glaring inequality. New York, with 45 electoral votes, gave a popular vote of 2,895,524 for President in 1920, while Mississippi, with 10 electoral votes, had a popular vote of only 82,492. Ohio, with 24 electoral votes, presented a popular vote of 2,019,480, while South Carolina, with 9 electoral votes, cast a popular vote of 66,150, according to the *World* Almanac for 1921. Thus, based on the popular vote, Mississippi has eight times the strength of New York in the Electoral College and South Carolina has twelve times that of Ohio. This is indefensible on its face.

ONE of the characteristics of the National Nonpartisan League that has made for its success is its belief in an offensive rather than a defensive campaign. Hence, at a moment when its industrial program in North Dakota is suffering both on account of the League's reduced political control there and because of the financial plight of the farmers, the organization starts a counter-offensive by sending its forces into Kansas and Nebraska in a membership campaign. It is also characteristic of the American Legion that it should have risen to oppose the League in those States. The national commander of the Legion very properly forbade such action, on the ground that the organization's constitution did not allow it to meddle in politics; whereupon the membership defied the intent of the ruling by organizing as an independent body to oppose the League. One of the ironies of the World War, which America entered in the name of freedom, is that the chief patriotic organization which it developed in this country should be found lining up against every movement to achieve greater freedom, industrially, for the actual producers of our national wealth in the cities or on the farm.

MEANWHILE the situation in North Dakota seems to be clearing somewhat. The State's financial troubles commenced with the passage of an act by referendum at the November elections making it no longer obligatory for counties to deposit their funds in the Bank of North Dakota. Withdrawals began, and put the State bank in a precarious situation, much to the glee of the private bankers who had sponsored the referendum law. But it soon became plain that bank wrecking was a pastime at which two could play.

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The Bank of North Dakota, either as a measure of necessity or retaliation, began to call in the deposits it had made in the various private banks of the State, and these institutions, unable to collect their notes to farmers, were forced, one after another, to the wall. Thereupon a truce was arranged, by the terms of which the private bankers have undertaken not only to cease sabotaging the Bank of North Dakota, but to assist in the effort to dispose of the State bonds, the revenue from which is needed to carry on the industrial program. For the moment, lack of funds has made it necessary to stop work on the terminal elevator at Grand Forks and on the houses under construction in Bismarck and Fargo by means of State aid. The Eastern bankers are refusing to aid in the disposal of the State bonds although they are excellent 6 per cent, income-tax-free securities of a sovereign State.

NO better use of the undistributed five million dollars of the United War Fund can be made than that recommended by the Board of Directors of the Knights of Columbus—to turn this balance over to Herbert Hoover's relief council for the feeding of Europe's starving children. This sum is owned jointly by the Knights of Columbus and the six other organizations which fused for relief work during the latter part of the war—the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the American Library Association, and the War Camp Community Service. One can only wish that the Knights had had equal vision in disposing of their own five million dollars which they offered to the American Legion for the erection of a permanent building in Washington. As *The Nation* previously pointed out, such a disposal of funds at a time of so much misery and suffering on all sides seems ill-advised indeed even if that money was originally subscribed for war-time soldier relief. The United War Fund was raised for a similar purpose. By all means turn it over to Hoover. But what of the newly organized American Association for Relief in Ireland? While the American Legion continues to hesitate whether or not to "accept" the Knights of Columbus's gift, the latter cannot do better than to rescind its offer and dispose of its fund where the need is immediate and overwhelming—for the suffering in ravaged and perishing Ireland.

FIRST the missionary with his tract; then the trader with his looking-glass and calico; and finally the gunboat with its useful guns to persuade the natives to worship with the missionaries and traffic with the traders—this has long been the natural history of civilized adventure among the backward races. The twentieth century, upsetter of old tradition, has added another figure to the neat procession. In Tahiti, according to credible dispatches, the artist has come in to see whether Melville and Stevenson and Gauguin have been right in their praises of the perfect islands. There is a painter behind every bush and a lover of landscape on top of every hill. Well, Melville and Stevenson had their John La Farge, who helped to perpetuate the lovely Fayaway; and, of course, Gauguin was painter as well as poet. On the whole, we suspect that these new-come artists will do rather less harm than any of the elder gentry who have turned their attention to the South Seas. Where the artists find beauty they will cherish it instead of forcing it to wear alien clothing and so to die of tuberculosis. Where they find natural thirst and hunger they may not do much to quiet them, but neither will they furnish whiskey or tainted canned goods. Where they find a disposition to live one's own life in one's own Pacific way, they will not thrust in gunpowder and the industrial age. And the loot the artists carry away from Tahiti will leave the natives as little desolated as after any pillaging they have ever sustained.

BRITISH labor sustained a serious loss in the death of Mary MacArthur in London on January 1 at the age of forty-one. She was a speaker of great force and vigor, as those who heard her on her last trip to America to represent England at the Labor Conference in Washington will well remember, she had an impressive personality and typified the international point of view on which rests the hope of the world. A student in London under Sir Charles Dilke and Sidney Webb, she organized the chainmakers of Cradley Heath and other home industries, and to her and to Sir Charles England owes the first minimum wage legislation. She never yielded to the war mania, though she worked on numerous important Government committees during the war, and her voice was among the first to be raised in favor of breaking the blockade in Germany and succoring its starving women and children. Her chief activity was for many years as Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League and of the National Federation of Women Workers, in which her unusual executive ability had full sway. When one contemplates the extraordinary usefulness of so brief a career as this, one can begin to measure what the world has deprived itself of for centuries by its fatuous refusal until now to make use in public and semi-public activity of the talents and abilities of the women of the race.

THE report that the Nobel prize will henceforth be given each year to the man of letters who in the opinion of the judges has done the most important work during that year, instead of being given to the writer who on the basis of his total work seems that year most to deserve it, means in all probability that Thomas Hardy will now never receive the prize. At eighty-one even the most powerful imagination may reasonably rest—though it is true that Mr. Hardy, after completing his great series of Wessex novels and tales, went on with mounting stride to the poems and dramas which almost all honest poets and competent critics will agree have been the supreme imaginative achievement of the English tongue in the twentieth century. And if he never receives this particular recognition, the Nobel prize will be in the position of the French Academy with respect to Molière; he will not seem to lack it, but it will seem to lack him. For Thomas Hardy, while the lesser novelists, the Gissings and Mrs. Humphry Wards, fade out of view, looms steadily larger. He has been the deep voice of dim underlying currents of the racial life of Britain. In him the ancient soil, moor and heath and rounded hill and quiet river, has risen up into a new beauty; in him the ancient stock, once savage, then Roman, then Christian, never but partially imperial, has been raised up to a new significance. At the same time, from that soil and stock he has looked out over the vast body of Europe lying prone under the wars of Napoleon, and has mused upon the Immanent Will with a profundity which the world rarely matches as often as once in a hundred years. It is not easy to say more for a poet than that, as one may say of Mr. Hardy, he has written such pastorals as almost make us want to substitute the word Dorset for Doric and has written such tragedy as takes us back again to the mighty visions of Aeschylus.

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Austria in Collapse

AUSTRIA is at the end of its rope. Whether the report that the Clerical Government now in power will place the administration in the hands of the Allied Reparation Commission be confirmed or not, the amputated republic established by the Treaty of St. Germain is dying. It cannot pay the salaries of its own officials; it cannot pay for the flour it must import if it is to maintain its people at the barest subsistence level; its printing presses can hardly issue paper money fast enough to keep pace with the declining value of its currency. It is preyed upon by foreign speculators, and by Entente officials who, in their task of supervising the execution of an impossible treaty, demand more for their maintenance than the Government spends in ruling six million people. Its people are dying, its children sickening. The war brought it to the verge of ruin; the peace treaty, and the peace period of isolation, mitigated by generous but merely alleviative charity, has completed the work of destroying a nation. Austria is done.

This is the fate which *The Nation*, first among American journals to denounce the cruelty and economic puerility of the peace treaties, predicted; this is the fate which, unless the great Powers bestir themselves, will creep like a gaunt shadow north and west from Austria, destroying that which we have boasted as civilization. Here is no encouragement even for communists who dream of a new dawn to follow the destruction of the old order; here is simply a worn-out, underfed people with no new hope and no new vision, collapsing. Here is the product of the "just and generous peace" which closed the war to end war, and today papers like the New York *Herald* which a year ago were relentless for punishment and vindictive in their denunciation of journals which prophesied this collapse, see that "even victors in war must heed danger signals when their peace terms and decrees become high explosives."

The peace treaty left the Austrian republic an economically impossible unit, consisting virtually of a chain of sparsely populated mountains and a great industrial capital. Vienna, with its two million population, is the center of a network of railways which in the pre-war days brought coal to her factories from Silesia, sulphur from Bukowina, lead and graphite from Bohemia, wheat and fruit from Hungary. But the peace treaty dissected the old empire, and erected frontiers between raw materials and their markets; the new nations, in a mistaken endeavor thus to solve their own problems, set up tariff barriers and hoarded their own materials. The Viennese mills, even when they could get raw materials, have been idle for lack of coal. Visitors comment on the strange spectacle of great industrial suburbs with rows of idle smoke-stacks guiltless of smoke. Meanwhile the city, too big for its present hinterland, has been slowly decaying. Last year's census showed a decline of nearly 200,000 in its population.

Austria cannot possibly grow enough food to support her own population. She is a sort of inland England, depending for her life upon other nations from which she must draw food, and to which she must send manufactured goods as pay. Isolated she cannot exist; she must have markets, and she must have coal and raw materials. But since the armistice she has had little of either; and for the coal and food which she has been able to import, has had to pay ruinously and exorbitantly. The Austrian krone, worth twenty cents before the war, has fallen to a nominal value of about one fifth of a cent. A ton of coal bought at twenty dollars costs Austria one hundred thousand kronen. Her railroads alone show a deficit of more than two billion kronen. Apart from the indemnity which the treaty sought to impose upon her, her debts jumped from 2.3 billion kronen in June, 1919, to 43.1 billion kronen in October, 1920, and the continuous fall in Austrian exchange has since added at least 15 billion more. When debts reach such figures they are beyond the power of any finance minister; juggling with them is puzzle play, meaningless in the world of economic reality, and the problem of feeding and rehabilitating Austria must perforce fall upon the outside world.

The Austrian people have seen one way out—federation with their blood-brothers of Germany, who might share with Austria their coal, and link their industry with hers in such fashion as to give both life. But this the peace treaty forbids Austria to do, unless with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, and France, still obsessed with the fear of a mighty Germany, stands adamant against such consent. Forbidden such a solution, a declaration of bankruptcy seems inevitable—entrance into some sort of receivership at the hands of one or a group of the Entente allies or a group of their financiers. There was a time when credit or coal might have been guaranteed by the Allies and Austria have been saved. But the statesmen were busy building their League, or bullying Germany, or outlawing Soviet Russia. They did indeed maintain commissions in Austria, but the commissions, instead of relieving Austria, squandered her money. Eleven of these commissions recently had headquarters in Vienna; they had a personnel of more than a thousand, and the humblest clerk attached to them received a salary which, when translated into kronen, was more than four times as high as the salary of the president of the Austrian republic. According to the treaty, all the expenses of these commissions must be borne by Austria, and they cost her more than all the expenses of her national government put together.

What next? A nation, or even a city of two million people, cannot be left to die. Will the answer be a cold business solution mortgaging everything of money value in Austria and making of her people a race of slaves? Will the people of Vienna be left embittered, to turn to some mad mood of bloody desperation which could then be denounced, without thought of its causes, as "bolshevism"? There is no time to waste, for bankruptcy is contagious, and half of Europe is on the verge of the illness. Polish and Hungarian moneys are worth even less than the Austrian krone, and the Jugoslav, like the German mark, is 95 per cent below par. America must awake to the fact that the Central Powers are still the keystone of the economic situation of Europe. If they collapse, especially with Russia outlawed, there can be no health on the Continent, nor anywhere in the markets of world trade. Everything depends upon the spirit in which the receivership for Austria is undertaken. America might give the answer. But America is headless at this juncture; the Government at Washington breathes but does not function; and the people, absorbed in their own troubles with profits and prices, are in no mood for drastic and generous action. What more will it take to awaken governments and peoples?

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More Soup Kitchens?

THE United States is drifting into one of the worst unemployment crises for many years with face averted and eyes shut. It is stated that there are now two millions and a quarter out of work—but our officials have been so little interested in the subject that we do not have even a basis for a careful estimate. There is no national agency whose business it is to be concerned with employment. There are no remedial measures in readiness for the crisis, so far as we can now discover. England and the Continent also are burdened with serious unemployment, but in our carelessness of remedies we are alone among the industrial nations. Is it because we are not yet spurred, like the Europeans, by fear of a desperate and starving proletariat which is out of humor with the existing control of industry? Shall we wait, as we have so many times in the past, until bread-lines and evictions and riots have underscored our failure to provide? We have not even decided whether the inevitable burden is to be thrown on local charity, municipalities, States, or nation.

Unemployment is not merely an occasional, but also a normal problem. Every year, even in the most prosperous times, there is a margin of competent workers without jobs. This margin may coincide with an unfilled demand for their labor. An industry may be more prosperous in one section of the country than in another. Readjustments in individual plants and in the general balance of production are continually throwing employees on their own resources. During the war, when it was to the interest of the government and of the war industries to economize labor, a national system of free labor exchanges was built up to bring the worker and the job together. All dictates of public interest would have made the United States Employment Service a permanent institution. But after the armistice it was scrapped in response to the demand of selfish interests. Therefore it is not here now to reduce the avoidable unemployment, or to give us a useful measure of the situation.

Unemployment is normal also in seasonal occupations. There are many industries, such as the manufacture of clothing, which in busy seasons depend for their prosperity upon a supply of labor a large part of which they lay off in slack seasons. This margin can be reduced by systematic planning. In some cases the factories may find a product with which to fill their dull periods. In other cases industries may be so matched against each other that the workers may find regular work when away from their main employment. For the remaining surplus the industry as a whole ought to assume responsibility through some form of insurance. As a resolution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has put it:

> Justice dictates that the industry which depends upon the workers to keep it alive should take care of them when they are unemployed. That can be done only by the creation of a special fund for the payment of unemployment wages; no gift and no alms, but wages from the industry to the worker. There is no reason why the industry which pays a permanent tax to the various insurance companies in order to indemnify the employer in case of emergency should not likewise have a permanent fund for the indemnification for lack of work. The welfare of the workers in the industry should be entitled to at least as much consideration as the property of the employer.

To care for those who are not reached by group methods of this sort, public unemployment insurance is probably necessary. The charge that such insurance encourages idleness is not borne out by observation of the countries where it is in practice. The payment is too small to compete with regular wages, and it is not extended to anyone who has refused a position for which he is fitted. It is, to be sure, an unproductive expenditure of public funds, but it is justified by the failure of the community otherwise to sustain its necessary workers. In normal times the charge is not great and may be written off like fire and other insurance losses. In times of emergency it is in the long run less wasteful than the misery which otherwise poisons a considerable part of the working population, physically and mentally. Such negative measures, however, should not exhaust our resources in severe industrial depressions like the present. Much is being said about governmental economy, but economy involves not merely the curtailment of expenditures, but the wise use of what we do spend. While money is being prodigally sunk in dangerous armament, the country is in need of roads, of housing, of many public works. A far-sighted and imaginative government would have completed plans for large super-power stations transforming water and coal into electric current for more efficient industry and more comfortable homes. Now is the time of times to undertake such projects. The labor directly employed would affect only a comparatively few trades, but it would throw a switch which would before long start a great many other wheels turning.

It is now too late to make more than a beginning of most of these remedies before the worst of the crisis is upon us. If we had been interested in the problem of unemployment, such instruments would have been ready for use. It is probable that even now they would be vetoed by those in control of industry. Why? Because many large employers actually welcome unemployment. They call it "liquidation" of labor. It is a chance to force reduction of wages, to break up unions, to put the fear of starvation into the heart of the worker and so restore "discipline." Apparently we are too stupid to bring about efficiency in any other way. And so once more we enforce the lesson that the present industrial order can be operated only at the cost of carelessness of human life and human values. The chief hope of action seems to depend on a seriously prolonged depression. Eventually the great employers may conclude they have to do something for labor in order to stimulate the market and save their own skins. If action by legislatures cannot be obtained in time, banks and chambers of commerce may accomplish something by unofficial activity.

Of course, if we had been far-sighted, the depression which causes the unemployment might itself have been far less severe. There might have been a decent peace treaty so that industry could have revived in Europe—for the present industrial crisis is world wide. World-wide trade with Russia might have been established. We might have undertaken a genuine industrial reconstruction. Perhaps such regrets are not too far afield. They are of use to remind us that abnormal unemployment itself is avoidable, and that even the best remedies are mere palliatives. Not having undertaken these palliatives in time, it may be that we shall find the shortest route to the desired end in the correction of our more fundamental errors.

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Don't Give Up the American Ship!

PROHIBITION is now the worst enemy of our sea-going passenger-ships. This we learn authoritatively, for Mr. P. A. S. Franklin, president of the International Mercantile Marine, and other representatives of our American lines formally protested in Washington last week against the enforcement of the Volstead amendment upon their liners. Mr. Franklin was straightforward and direct about it. He said that the present interpretation of the law as it stands will "mean the death of the American flag in the passenger ship trade of the world. Unless some definite assurance of a change is given I don't see how anybody can deliberately build American ships. If we are prohibited from serving liquor, hope of obtaining business in competition with foreign vessels will be impossible." Thus to the menace of lower seamen's wages and lower costs on foreign ships is now added the liquor issue. There is no doubt that it is serious. The American ships plying to South America, mostly former German steamers, are running half empty, while the slower, older, and far less comfortable English craft are crowded. It is the bar that does it, the agents say.

Our sympathies are with the steamship owners. There is no reason that we can see why they should be compelled to refuse to serve wine to Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen and the rest of the world while they seek the trade of those people. Whatever the ultimate fate of the Volstead Act and the enforcement of the Amendment at home, we are entirely clear that beyond the limits of the United States Americans should not seek to impose their views upon others. American ship-owners have troubles enough without this one of prohibition. They are in the transitional period of post-bellum reorganization. Many of them are entirely inexperienced and they are facing an unprecedented slump in finance and trade. If gossip in shipping circles is correct only one line is making money today and that one because of unusually efficient management. Our excellent new trans-Atlantic liners, operated by the United States Mail Company, are carrying cargoes barely sufficient to ballast them. Almost every day the Shipping Board announces the laying up of more ships because of the falling off in trade. Bids for the ships the Government seeks to sell are almost impossible to obtain. It paid at the rate of $220 a ton for these, and similar vessels can now be built for less than half the price. If these idle vessels can be sold it must obviously be at a great sacrifice. More than that, the evil effects of building "ships by the mile" are now being felt. To standardize them in war-time was absolutely essential; in peace time the realization has come that special trades call for special ships. The craft that are ideally fitted for running through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal to India are by no means the ones to enter the Argentine meat-carrying trade.

So our harbors are filling up with idle ships, and their crews and officers are turned adrift to go back to other trades while operators and owners demand Government subsidies. They seek to be a favored and privileged industry maintaining—many with the utmost sincerity—that if the United States wishes to have ships under its own flag upon all the seven seas the taxpayers must help them out by giving them, through Congress, a guaranteed dividend. They do not put it as baldly as that, of course, but that is what it comes to in the last analysis. If American ships are to pass through the Panama Canal toll free, the taxpayer must make up the deficiency, if any, in the upkeep of the canal and its bond interest. At the same time, we hear few voices for Government ownership and operation of ships because people are appalled at the waste, extravagance, inefficiency, and corruption which have characterized so many of the phases of the construction and management of our vessels.

For ourselves, we should prefer to see our ships go into other hands rather than to have them maintained partly at Government expense, through subsidies, direct or indirect. Yet *The Nation* has from its foundation hoped and worked for an American fleet under our own flag. For the present the only thing to do is to sit tight until the collapse of our trade passes, taking such losses as are inevitable and bearing them with the best grace possible. Then, with normal conditions returned, we believe that native American ingenuity, skill, and shrewdness will find the way to operate ships so efficiently as to keep the flag on the seas. If one line can do it now, others can later on. Moreover, we did it previous to 1861 and we can do it again. In addition, the wage competition of other nations, the Japanese in particular, is not an insurmountable barrier. That has been shown by the *Nautical Gazette* and other authorities. It is emphatically the time to repeat Lawrence's cry "Don't give up the ship!" Frightful financial losses the Government will have to take and write off as part of the cost of the war. But as Europe revives the need of our ships will once more become imperative.

The Progress of Prose

TWENTY years ago bright youths in American colleges swore by Stevenson and discoursed on style. The art of writing seemed to them a fragile and intricate but exceedingly definite matter. They knew precisely why their master had used the word "tremendous" in a given passage and how Shakespeare and Milton had produced divine harmonies by a judicious use of the liquids and a combination of *p*, *v*, and *f*. They played the "sedulous ape" with conscious virtue and rubbed their dazzled eyes every time they beheld the pages of Professor Walter Raleigh's Byzantine treatise on their favorite subject. More learned persons than these youths recalled very seriously the exercise of the Greek rhetors and set their pupils—*haud inexperti loquimur*—the task of measuring cadences from Rabelais to Ruskin. Prose became a problem in fine mosaic or inlay workmanship. Everybody was busy and everybody was happy. They sucked the sweets even of Henry Harland and were unabashed by any memory of Swift. "There is no inventing terms of art beyond our ideas; and when our ideas are exhausted terms of art must be so too." They were quite satisfied with their ideas and strove only to incrust them with blithe and happy patterns.

It was, as one recalls it, an easy and complacent time. Educated persons prided themselves on taking the young Stevenson's side in his theological quarrels with his father, but counseled reverence for the proceedings of the Fifth Street Church; they were thrilled by Kipling's "Without Benefit of Clergy" and proud that their thrill was not also a shock; they felt life to be a great adventure, preferably in the South Seas, and wore the white flower of a mild re-

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belliousness carefully tucked beneath their coats. Their stories alternated between tepid realism and wax-flower romance; their essays bristled with little unconventionalities that were blandly retracted in the last sentence. They sought the inevitable and unique expression for ideas and emotions that were both artificial and common. They wanted a limpid medium and generally achieved one. For their prose was quite unvexed by the smart of sensation, the roughness of things, or the rending conflicts of thought.

Assuredly it was Shaw who first troubled these quiet literary waters. Stevenson had written about him in his letters. The man had to be read. Gradually he was read. Publicly it was good form to call him a clown; privately one pressed against one's bosom the sharp spears of his sentences. The dialogue of his plays, not to speak of the prefaces, was seen to be literature, to be prose. And that prose helped to kill the feeble Alexandrianism of the period. There are passages in "Man and Superman" (1903), both in the preface and the play, that have the naked speed of thought itself, the strength and resilience of fine steel, that are as careless of mere beauty and as secure in its possession as a wave of the sea. It was once more observed, however faintly, that an inner flame or sword is the best master of rhetoric. Next came Chesterton. The style of "Heretics" (1905) is itself Shavian. For it was Shaw who had changed antithesis from an agreeable device to a natural expression of cruel conflicts and rooted contradictions. Chesterton borrowed his weapons to fight his view of things, and the sensitive student of prose notes constantly today the stylistic impress of that controversy in which things and thoughts were pounded back into an anemic vocabulary and a vainly gesticulating rhythm.

The tumult of the war silenced the last echoes of Alexandrianism. A thick and meaningless or a suave and false eloquence prevailed in official places. But wherever thinking and suffering was done, prose sought to cut and cry rather than swathe and muffle. Who reads the essays of Stevenson today? Ruskin has yielded to Swift and De Quincey to Hazlitt. Rhetoric is vain and adornment an insult. Our minds, to use the strong vernacular phrase, are up against blood and hunger, injustice and reaction. A new prose is arising day by day. This prose seeks to rip the veils woven by inner and outer censorships, to pursue reality to its last hiding place and set it shivering in the tonic winds. Its practitioners are artists, too, and often conscious artists. But stylistic technique is only their means to the end of expression and expression itself a weapon rather than a decoration. They are too busy to shift bits of mosaic or carve fragments of ivory. Their sentences draw impact from thought and felicity from the breaking through of the savor of things. They remember with Remy de Gourmont that "works well thought out are invariably well written," and spend more time clarifying their minds than pondering words. This tendency has not yet culminated in any master and the new prose is in the same state as the new verse. Meanwhile one observes older men trained in other days seeking cleaner, more energetic speech and young men wholly unconscious of the decorative taste that prevailed so recently. Curious felicity and melting rhythm are gone; Mill seems closer than Pater and the harshest simplicity more comforting than an otiose charm. Iron brooms sweep clean. We dare not litter the earth with vain artifice. Exactness must be our felicity and our rhythm the rumor of the world.

Canceling International Orders

BRITISH business men, and the Lancashire textile industry in particular, have been deeply perturbed over the volume of cancelations of American orders. The sudden drop in the market caught many Americans unawares, and they got out from under by the direct route—by cancelation. Englishmen, whose practice differs from ours, are in many instances questioning American honesty. The American buyers who acted honorably and swallowed their contracts at a loss were insignificant and unnoticeable in the débâcle. French manufacturers suffered like the British. That American manufacturers have been accorded the same treatment by wholesalers, jobbers, and retailers does not console the European victims of the policy or make up for their financial losses.

British and French business men have indeed a just grievance. While cancelation in the American textile trades has grown into an accepted custom, it is neither good business, even by the standards of the passing cutthroat days, nor reconcilable with elementary modern business morality. The Paris correspondent of an American trade paper reports that it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the ill feeling which the cancelations have caused abroad, and that it is seriously proposed to boycott all the offending firms. The *Manchester Guardian*, however, speaks kindly of the experience of British business men with the American consular service but thinks that the situation may demand an international conference "to discuss this new and unpleasant development in commerce and to suggest measures to check it." We should heartily welcome it.

That American practice in this regard needs reversal admits of no discussion. Indeed American business good sense has already asserted the need for a system of business contracts which will stand up under the pressure of hard times. A recent gathering of representative Eastern textile men unanimously indorsed the formation of a new organization, The National Bureau of Commercial Contracts, which aims to eliminate precisely the abuses described above. The first speaker voiced the common purpose in saying: "I want to see the day when Americanization stands for this—a contract is a contract; when a man sells he will deliver, and when a man buys he will take the goods no matter what it costs." Even without the loud note of nationalism this would be obviously sound doctrine. American, not foreign, business is the chief sufferer by departure from it. It is of course true that the war undermined business morality. But England and France were far more deeply involved in the conflict than were we. And long before 1914 sharp dealing in our export trade had given American business a decided "black eye" in many portions of the globe. In large areas of South America the American business man is anathema, and not unjustly. Some of the worst offenders are unfortunately firms of established repute at home, whose honesty apparently succumbed to mal de mer outside the three-mile limit. Deliberate substitution of inferior goods and persistent refusal to rectify defective shipments have contributed to the loss to America of fertile commercial fields abroad. Yet this is not a matter which affects business alone; our commercial reputation in large measure determines our national prestige in other countries, and sets the limit to our potential influence as a factor in the new international world.

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The French Case for German Indemnity

By MAURICE CASENAVE

THE position of France on the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles is seldom understood and has often been severely criticized. France has been subject to many reproaches; she refuses to fix the amount of the indemnity which she will exact from Germany and at the same time bases her entire reconstruction on German indemnity. She forces an unbearable burden upon Germany without letting her know the weight of that burden. Thus Germany does not know where she is; she refuses in her turn to produce the maximum of work which she would produce if she knew the amount that will be required of her. The equilibrium of Europe is disarranged and cannot be reestablished as long as Germany abstains from working. Her abstention is due to the unreasonableness and greediness of France. France is consequently responsible for the actual unsteadiness of Europe.

It is true that France has not yet fixed the amount of the German indemnity, but this is not due to any unreasonableness on her part; it is due to her common-sense and to her sense of justice. The principles on which reparations are based are not in any way unreasonable. In November, 1918, just after the armistice, heavy indemnities were expected from Germany. The conquered foe, according to a celebrated formula, was "to be held to strict accountability," not only by France but by the other Allied nations of Europe. Before the electors of the new House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George had undertaken to make Germany pay "shilling for shilling and ton for ton."

The French Minister of Finance had requested the Allied plenipotentiaries meeting at Versailles to make Germany pay the entire costs of the war, a request surely based on strict justice. France was not the assaulter, France did not want the war, France was not even prepared for the war. On the contrary, France had been assaulted, 1,500,000 of her sons had been killed and 500,000 permanently crippled, her richest provinces had been invaded and scientifically destroyed, and she knew that future generations would have to bear for centuries an overwhelming financial burden due to the war. According to justice France was entitled to reimbursement of these expenses by her assaulter.

The demand of the French Minister of Finance was consequently just, but justice could not be exacted under the existing circumstances. The French representatives, together with their European colleagues, were obliged frankly to recognize the wisdom and the expediency—if not the strict justice—of the formula of the President of the United States that "only reparation of damage should be collected, and not the cost of the war." So they signed article 232 of the treaty which states that "the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the treaty, to make complete reparation for all the loss and damages to which the Allied and associated Governments and their nations have been subjected as a consequence of the war." The result was that the Allied and associated Governments required of Germany only—and Germany undertook only—"that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and associated Powers and to their property by land, by sea, and by air."

If one considers the time when this admission was made, the feelings which then prevailed among the nations of Europe toward the vanquished enemy, it seems that the negotiators of the Treaty of Versailles were very tactful and very wise and that the French statesmen who signed such provisions and undertook to force their acceptance on the public opinion of a people whose wounds were not even healed cannot be reproached for unreasonableness or avidity.

It is no wonder that it took some time for the French people to realize that they could not obtain fair and just reparations. A man whose house has been destroyed by arson requires some time to comprehend that he will not be fully compensated by the incendiary, or at least by the insurance company; but finally France understood the situation, precisely because France is not unreasonable. Time was required, indeed, to bring the French people to accept sacrifices, but this is far from being the only reason of the delay in the fixation of the indemnity.

France has always contended that she needed a reasonable length of time in which to estimate the damage which she has suffered during the war: half a million homes, 4,400 factories, 6,445 schools to be totally rebuilt, 400 million cubic meters of trenches to be filled in, 4,500,000 hectares to be made fit for agriculture, 4,000 kilometers of railways and canals to be put in order again. Add to this the difficulty of calculating the cost of raw materials when French exchange was falling 150 per cent.

France did not want to ask from Germany any fixed sum unless satisfied that there had been damage of at least that amount: she intended to offer accurate calculations, revisable by the Inter-Allied Commission provided by article 233 of the Treaty of Versailles. This commission has been established to determine "the amount of the damages for which compensation is to be made by Germany" and to give the German Government a just opportunity to be heard. Suppose French calculations not to be approximately accurate, as is possible, France would be accused of proceeding by guesswork and of being unscrupulous. . . .

The task of the Reparation Commission is to estimate precisely what losses the invaded countries have suffered; it is also to estimate the German capacity of payment and to investigate the fiscal system of Germany so as to ascertain if that fiscal system is proportionately as heavy as that of any other ally or associated nation.

During the negotiation of the treaty a wide divergence existed among the Allied experts on what Germany could pay. According to Mr. Bernard Baruch, one of the American representatives in the Reparation Commission, the amounts varied from 8 billions to 120 billions of dollars, and what is most interesting, both extreme figures came from British experts. But all the estimates of Germany's riches had been made before the war, at a time when nobody complained about a poor Germany. Naturally, these figures cannot be taken at their face value. The possibility of payment by Germany depends upon many contingencies which are even more difficult to appraise than the amount of the sums due by her as damages.

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Some of these contingencies are moral ones; . . . others purely material. The possibility of Germany paying depends largely upon the restoration of her agriculture and the crops in the years to come and upon the future of her industrial production. These contingencies are the more difficult to forecast because Germany has been compelled to cede some of her territory for the profit of foreign nations . . . The two years passed since the armistice have been helpful to a solution of some of these problems. The much-abused Secretariat of the League of Nations has undertaken the task of comparing the tax burden of France and Germany and has recently published the figures.

The basis for such comparison is necessarily a computation of the proportionate percentage of total per capita income paid to the state in taxes, direct and indirect. This computation in France and Germany for the year 1920 presents unusual difficulty and the Secretariat had to proceed with great care. It gave due consideration to the problem presented by the work of reconstruction in France and took into account the fact that the Treaty of Versailles obliged Germany to make certain deliveries of cattle, coal, and machinery at various times during the year.

A wholesale price index is published in both France and Germany showing the month to month variation in prices of every commodity necessary to economic life. The Secretariat, in calculating the present national income of France and Germany, estimated that 60 per cent of the prewar national income consisted of goods the value of which was subject to variations in the said price index. It also estimated that, because of the war, this part of the national income had been reduced in volume by 30 per cent in both France and Germany, while the price levels applicable to this portion of the national income, also owing to the war, had increased in France 5½-fold and in Germany 10-fold.

The volume of the remaining 40 per cent of the national income respecting transport, distribution, personal, professional, and other services was assumed to have remained stationary. It was further assumed that the valuation of this 40 per cent of the income has risen at the rate of 50 per cent of the average increase of the wholesale price-index numbers in France and Germany since 1914.

Taking into consideration the 30 per cent reduction on the first portion of national income, the price-level increases of 5½-fold in France and 10-fold in Germany, and the increase of 50 per cent in the second section of national income of France and Germany, the following factors for the total national income for 1920 are obtained: France, 3⅓; Germany, 6¼.

Applying these factors to the figures of the respective budgets of France and Germany, the population of France being 40,000,000 and that of Germany 59,500,000, the following results were obtained:

France—National income per capita, 3,200 francs; Government revenue per capita, 574 francs, or 18 per cent.

Germany—National income per capita, 3,900 marks; Government revenue per capita, 474 marks, or 12 per cent.

From this computation, compared with the general conditions in both countries, several conclusions must be drawn: (1) That the limit of taxable income is considerably lower in France than in Germany; (2) that if Germany were to increase the burden of her taxes so that the proportion of her per capita income paid to the state would equal the proportion paid in France—implying an increase from 12 per cent to 18 per cent—the Treasury would receive an additional sum of 12,540,000,000 marks; (3) that it must be borne in mind that the burden of taxes imposed in France requires from her people a much greater effort to meet than a similar burden would in Germany, since the physical means of wealth production suffered no destruction in the latter country; (4) that, by comparing the German and the French percentage of taxation, the reproach often raised against the French Government for not taxing its people falls to the ground; (5) that there is only one country in the world which is more heavily taxed than France, namely England, where 28 per cent of the per capita national income is paid to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In America only 8 per cent of the per capita income is collected by the Federal and State Governments.

Without waiting for the German indemnity, the French Parliament helped solve the problem of reconstruction by voting in the budget of 1920 a part called "extraordinary budget," covering the expenses of reconstruction and pensions—expenses to be recovered from Germany and her allies. Advances have had to be made by the Government and by the public, which responded generously. The big public banks associated themselves with the work and established a bank called the Credit National which issued to the public debentures for 8 billion francs. Moreover in 1919 a government loan of 17 billion and in 1920 a government loan of 27 billion have been issued to the public.

The proceeds of these loans have been successfully employed, the fields are cultivated again, public buildings, schools, post offices, town and city halls, and churches are reconstructed at least provisionally; 76 per cent of the destroyed manufactures are rebuilt; 44 per cent of the laborers working in these factories before the war are at work again. Production in devastated France is 62 per cent of the prewar total. The destroyed metallurgical industries are working at 50 per cent of the prewar conditions, textile industry at 67 per cent, chemical industry at 54 per cent, and new developments are being made in the production of electrical energy. Since the armistice, exportations from France to foreign countries have passed from 4,750,000,000 to 16,550,000,000 francs.

But the enormous sums which France is appropriating for reconstruction and for the reestablishment of a regular order of things are only advances made by France to Germany. It is absolutely necessary that Germany shall understand that she must repair the wrong she has done not only to France but to other countries as well. Belgians, Serbians, Italians, Rumanians, English as well as French are able and willing to help themselves, to help the world return to normal conditions, and to pay the great debts which they have incurred through Germany's attack; but they have the right to expect a corresponding effort on the part of the author of the wrong: they expect, as the French Prime Minister recently expressed it, "that Germany will make all efforts to pay, no matter if she pays in goods or gold, as long as she pays."

With regard to reparation, many people seem to be very anxious to treat German public opinion with the greatest consideration, while few appear to be equally regardful of the public opinion of the countries which have been plundered by Germany. These nations are ready to do their duty, but Germany must do hers. This is the only way to heal the wounds, this is the only way to keep the peace of the world and to assure the great object of maintaining "friendly relations between foreign nations."

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Russia at Peace

By PAXTON HIBBEN

SOVIET Russia is at war with no one—which is more than can be said of most of the belligerents in the late war. But while Soviet Russia is not at war, it would be an exaggeration to say that she is at peace with all the world. On the whole, the present situation is in the nature of a breathing spell, an armed truce that tomorrow may be war or permanent peace the world over.

Which it is to be depends less upon Soviet Russia than upon other considerations. Russia is ready for war—a certain faction, in Russia quite as much as in France, perhaps, is spoiling for war. That there is peace today in Russia, not war, is sufficient evidence that this faction does not control.

Nevertheless, the professed altruism and the practiced greed of the victorious Powers have demonstrated to others besides Trotzky that readiness for war on an instant's notice is the safest course for Soviet Russia, albeit possibly not so safe for Russia's neighbors. Given a breathing spell, therefore, in which for the moment moving armies are still, it is well for the rest of the world to take stock of where Russia's forces lie and their potential strength, as the ringside spectator at a prize-fight at the end of a round appraises the punch each combatant has left in him.

Since the annihilation of Wrangel's grotesque adventure there are five main Russian "fronts": the Baltic states, Poland, Rumania, Transcaucasia and Persia, and India. Of these only the first three may be considered essentially Russian in that a blow struck at one of them with success might possibly reach to Russia proper. For the strength, and it may one day prove to be also the weakness, of Soviet Russia lies in the fact that it not only permits but encourages a very large measure of autonomy, if not indeed actual independence, among the associated peoples who for one reason or another have sought or accepted the cooperation of the Soviet Government at Moscow.

In Transcaucasia, for example, the entering wedge of soviet influence was not, as the press dispatches gave the impression, an advance by the Red army into Azerbaijan and the conquest of the oil wells of Baku. The communist movement in Azerbaijan was from within, stimulated of course by agents from Moscow who found ready material at hand in the 60,000 radical Russian and Armenian laborers of the oil fields, out of work for over a year on account of the British control of the oil output. There were only these 60,000 radicals out of a population of approximately 2,911,300. But in Azerbaijan as in Russia the vast mass of the population were and are peasant farmers, who were almost as ready to throw off the yoke of the great estate owners as the laborers were to rebel against working for the Royal Shell Company of London or the Rothschilds of Paris. When the revolution was effected on April 27, 1920, and a soviet regime installed, agents of Soviet Russia came to Baku and taught the Tartars of Azerbaijan how to make a soviet government effective, how to organize an Azerbaijan soviet army, to nationalize the land and the oil wells, and to consolidate the new Government. It was neither an invasion nor a conquest of Azerbaijan; but it was a very rapid profiting by conditions to the existence of which Moscow had not been blind, while England had.

The same is true of Persia. The downfall of the British influence and the rise of communism had their roots in the greed that dictated the Anglo-Persian agreement of August 9, 1919, which bound Persia hand and foot to Britain. While the British last May were dealing with Prince Firouz, who scarcely represented the servants in his own household, Mirza Kutchuk with over half the people of Persia actively behind him was leading a revolt against an arrangement which would place the whole Persian army under a British commander, every division under a British general, and every regiment under a British colonel, with four other British officers in each regiment. Four months before the bolshevist army was within 800 miles of Persia, and while the wall of Denikin's forces still separated Soviet Russia from Transcaucasia, British staff officers from northwest Persia told me that it was as much as a British officer's life was worth to travel through Persia, so bitter were the people against the Anglo-Persian agreement.

It was not Soviet Russia that invaded Persia, but the Persian people, rebelling against British military, economic, and financial domination, who organized their own independent government and voluntarily associated themselves with Soviet Russia. Russian officers, administrators, and organizers were sent to them when they asked it. They were not imposed upon them when they neither asked it nor knew it. There is a difference, and the difference is the strength of Soviet Russia in Persia today.

The same story is repeated in the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara and in Turkestan, north of Afghanistan. No Red army marched into this territory and subdued the people. They are independent, but they are also associated with Soviet Russia, which means that they neither can nor will enter into such a combination of Uzbegs, Afghans, and Persians against Soviet Russia as that which the British planned six months ago, and are still talking of. It is too late. Even at this present writing a British mission has gone to Kabul to try to negotiate a treaty of friendship with the Ameer. It is too late here, also. While the Viceroy of India and the Ameer of Afghanistan have been exchanging polite letters, the agents of Soviet Russia have been at work among the people of the land that commands the gates of India. There are reports that a revolution like that in Azerbaijan, like that in Persia, has taken place in Afghanistan, and that the Ameer has fled to India. It may not be true. But it will be true, sooner or later; for Soviet Russia has taken a leaf out of President Wilson's book. Lenin and Chicherin appeal to the people, direct, over the heads of the rulers—and it wins in Afghanistan, in Persia and Transcaucasia, in Bokhara and Khiva and Turkestan, as it won in Germany for us in 1918.

It is precisely this alliance with the rebel who represents the will of the vast majority of the people that Soviet Russia has made with Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey. While Britain and the Allies generally deal with the Sultan, impotent in Constantinople, possessed not even of the shadow of authority—not enough to keep his heir apparent from trying to join the Turkish Nationalist army—Lenin is dealing in realities. Mustapha Kemal Pasha has 90 per cent of the Turks (including those in Constantinople) with him. It

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is with Mustapha Kemal that Soviet Russia has reached a working understanding by which the influence of Moscow stretches from Arkhanghelsk to Teheran, and from Angora to Tibet.

And from end to end of this southern line defending the frontiers of Soviet Russia, over 2,200 miles long, the armies that hold the line are not Russian armies. They are Turks, Armenians, Persians, Tartars of Azerbaijan, Georgians, Uzbegs, Afghans, Turkomans—God knows what—each and every one fighting for his own country, for his own right to self-determination and freedom from European rule and European exploitation. They are the bulwarks of Soviet Russia, and they cost the Moscow Government merely a few officers to organize the local forces, a few staff officers to help direct the military operations, a few preachers among the people to keep their rebellion of spirit against the old order alive. It could be done with little more than a score of translators to spread broadcast throughout the Near East and Central Asia the proceedings of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva or the news of the secret agreements of Sèvres and San Remo, the partitions among the self-styled victors of spoils which they do not possess and cannot conquer.

A year ago in Tiflis and Erivan, where the Georgian and Armenian newspapers printed daily the Soviet propaganda wireless dispatches from Moscow because they had little or no other news of the outside world, it was not communist propaganda that did the work of disillusionizing the people of Transcaucasia with the professed altruism of the Allied and associated Powers. It was the cold, hard facts of the deals and dickers in London and Paris, yes, and Washington. It was the bargaining for this bit of territory or that, the compromises, the concessions, the trades, which Moscow knew to spread before the world in all their ugliness of fact, unsugared by the columns of explanatory and apologetic matter with which the same facts reach us. In Afghanistan and Azerbaijan and Persia and Kurdistan you cannot explain that Constantine of Greece wrote some letters to his brother-in-law the Kaiser that the Allies did not approve of, while Venizelos consistently did just as he was told from London and Paris. It is too complicated. The facts stand out: at the Peace Conference Greece was given Thrace and a five years' tenure of Smyrna. Then the Greek people by a vote of a million to 10,000 dismissed the man who had negotiated this little deal and chose Constantine as king. Immediately, the Allies began to talk about taking back from Greece what was granted by the Peace Conference. To the untutored mind three questions occur, and only three: Have not the Greeks the same right to choose their own ruler as the English or the Norwegians or the Americans? If the grants to Greece were unjust, why were they made? If they were just, why should they be taken back? And of a situation such as this Moscow makes the most.

In Afghanistan the British hold only the forts that protect the southern entrance of the Khyber Pass. In Persia, first Enzeli, then Tabriz, and now Teheran have been evacuated by all save those friendly to the soviet movement. Thousands of refugees, the Near East Relief hears, are moving south to Hamadan, and from Hamadan to Kermanshah and Bagdad. On December 15, Mr. Lloyd George said unequivocally: "It is part of our definite policy to clear out of Persia."

In Mesopotamia, reports as yet unconfirmed indicate an early abandonment of the district around Mosul, oil and all. The Near East Relief learns at last that the situation is so serious that some 40,000 Assyrian refugees who had been granted land by the British in the Mosul district have been turned back and are now to be sent to the United States, if possible.

In Transcaucasia Armenia has set up a soviet government, and the menshevist government of Georgia has made the slight alteration that bridges the difference between it and bolshevism. In Turkey, while the sinister figure of Tewfik Pasha is back in power in Constantinople, the mission sent to Angora to try to reach an understanding with Mustapha Kemal Pasha has returned with nothing accomplished. The Turkish Nationalists control Turkey far more effectively than anyone else even pretends to control it, and the way from Angora to Moscow is as unimpeded as that from Athens to London.

On October 28, in the cloak room of the Quai d'Orsay, a treaty was signed giving Bessarabia to Rumania. It had neither the sanction of the Peace Conference nor that of the League of Nations, and neither Russia, of which Bessarabia was part, nor the United States were signatories. Not dissimilarly in 1861 Mexico was assigned to France. Between Mogileff and Kamnets-Podolsk, Budenny has 40,000 cavalry, as the left wing of the army holding the frontier against Poland. But it may also serve at need as the right wing of an army to sweep into Rumania on provocation. Rumania has called to the colors the classes of 1913, 1914, and 1915—a mobilization.

So, in 1914, in the very same way, the World War began. The last relic of feudalism in Western Europe, the paradise of the great landowners, Rumania is a standing invitation to communists of the passionate conviction of those in Moscow. Last August there was talk in Paris of Rumania coming to the aid of Poland when Soviet Russia was struggling against the Polish invasion. It was the French Government that told the Rumanians, unofficially, to go ahead and march on Budapest, to put an end to communism in Hungary.

The Treaty of Riga that put a stop to war between Soviet Russia and Poland was far from satisfactory to the Russians. Here, too, the French are egging the Poles on. Perhaps a combination of Rumania and Poland could accomplish what Kolchak, Judenich, Denikin, and Wrangel have failed to do, and collect France's Russian claims. From Paris Walter Duranty cables a long story, unconfirmed otherwise, of an impending bolshevist attack on Latvia. It is the usual way of preparing the public mind for another effort against Russia—reports of the intention of Moscow to move against this country or that.

Wrangel is by the board, but the French policy does not change. It cannot change, so long as Millerand and the unholy alliance between profiteers and militarists rules in Paris. Is a great spring offensive from the Danube to the Duna being planned, at the Quai d'Orsay perhaps, to engulf five millions more in a war that may last years, cost untold treasure, and tear down the very pillars of civilization in Eastern Europe?

If so, Trotzky must be grinning as he thinks of his southern frontiers safely shored up against surprise, and a single line against which to concentrate the whole man power of Russia in a final struggle for the life or death of communism. Had he chosen time and place himself, such an offensive could not have been better for Soviet Russia—or worse for the world.

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The Three-Shift System Steel Industry

By HENRY WOOD SHELTON

THERE is no real obstacle to the steel industry as a whole changing from the two- to the three-shift day. Both economic and humanitarian considerations indicate that this change is inevitable and, on account of present conditions, may even now be at hand. It would directly relieve about 150,000 workers now on the twelve-hour day, and afford work for at least 50,000 more who are now unemployed.

These statements epitomize the conclusions reached at one of the largest gatherings of engineers ever arranged in this country—a joint meeting of the Taylor Society, the metropolitan and management sections of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. The occasion was the presentation and discussion of a report on "The Three-Shift System in the Steel Industry," prepared by Horace B. Drury, formerly of the department of economics, Ohio State University, and recently with the Industrial Relations Division of the United States Shipping Board. Mr. Drury, during three months of study and field investigation, visited about twenty independent steel plants already running on a three-shift basis, representing about 40 per cent of the industry. His general conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. The managers of those steel plants which have made the change are all glad it has been done. They are convinced that it was "good business." Increased alertness of the men, with improved quality of product, less waste, and less wear and tear of equipment have been reported; also less absenteeism and less carelessness; and a better spirit has prevailed among the men. In some cases the output has been increased and the costs lowered.

2. The workers have been so glad to get the shorter hours that they have been willing to make substantial concessions in daily wages.

3. While in many cases the adoption of the three-shift day may result in slightly higher labor costs, this need not be the case. Whether labor costs are increased or not depends primarily on the preparation and skill of the management in bringing the change about. The extreme cost under the worst conditions of change might amount to 21 cents per ton of pig iron selling for $40. The increase for open-hearth work might amount to 25 cents per ton. Thus the total increase in labor cost for a steel ingot would be not more than 46 cents. If the entire steel industry—blast furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills—went on three shifts with no increase in efficiency, careful analysis shows that it could not add more than 3 per cent to the total cost of making the finished steel rail, bar, or sheet. As the change would bring into play many factors making for increased efficiency, it is probable that costs in the long run would actually be lowered.

4. The experience of those plants which have made the change, together with the present fact of considerable and increasing unemployment in the steel industry, makes the immediate change largely a matter of the will to undertake it by those directly concerned.

In the typical American steel plant more than half of the men are still employed twelve hours a day. In those continuous-operation processes which make up the heart of the steel industry, such as the blast furnace, the open-hearth furnace, and most types of rolling mill, together with the various auxiliary departments necessary to support these processes and make a complete plant, the proportion of twelve-hour workers is considerably more than half. There are probably 150,000 such twelve-hour workers in the country. In blast-furnace plants and often in open-hearth departments these men work seven days a week. Once in two weeks they have eighteen-hour or twenty-four-hour turns. For a long time it was supposed in the steel industry that no other system of operation would work. Leading steel manufacturers told the Senate Committee which investigated the steel strike that the men wanted to work twelve hours a day in order to get twelve hours' pay. It was also said that modern machinery had so lightened labor in the steel industry and work was so intermittent that a twelve hours' duty involved no physical hardship.

Prior to the war there were undoubtedly many men in the steel industry who desired the twelve-hour day. The typical steel worker has been the newly arrived foreigner, often unmarried, whose greatest desire was to earn a lot of money to send or take back to Europe. Other reasons for the continuance of the twelve-hour day in this industry long after other industries as a whole have made the change are the shortage of labor during recent years, the shortage of houses, the large size of most of the plants (making them unwieldy and slow to adopt any radical change), and the general freedom of the industry from labor unions and the pressure which they are able to exert.

Some of these conditions are rapidly changing. The growth of the eight-hour-day idea in Europe means that the immigrant to this country will be less passive than heretofore. As men are being laid off in the steel industry the shortage-of-labor argument no longer holds except in isolated cases. In addition the steel strike played a considerable part in awakening the desires of the employees and strengthening the movement toward a better organization of the workers. According to Mr. Drury all the evidence indicates that most of the men now feel that twelve hours' work—which, with going and coming, means thirteen hours—cannot give them enough time for home life, let alone education in English or activity in community affairs. It is hardly open to question that a regular twelve-hour day, not to mention the seven-day week, is a strain on the health of the worker. He would be better off physically and in all that depends upon physical welfare with the shorter day of eight hours.

Nor can the larger though less tangible question of humanitarianism be ignored. The higher development of the individual cannot come except by leisure waking hours for education and cultural development. When he has but a scant two hours in the day for this purpose, we can hardly expect much growth in the ideals of American citizenship. So from the point of view of both individual and national welfare, the logic of the situation points to the adoption of the shorter day.

The general drift in other continuous-process industries in the United States is also having its effect on the mind

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of the steel worker. The chemical, glass, coal-mining, and paper industries are examples of those in which the shift has already been made or in which the process is well under way. No other industry in America now practices the twelve-hour day to any great extent.

The adoption of the eight-hour day as the universal practice in the steel industry itself in other countries is another influence on our own workers. England, France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Italy, and Spain have all gone over to the three-shift system. How long can we expect the employees of this one industry and country alone to acquiesce in a condition which the world has outgrown? To continue it longer violates the public sense of what is just and what is truly American.

Why Is a Farmer?

By FELIX SPER

OF all industrial groups, the farmer has always been reckoned the sustaining nerve of society. His conservatism has been lauded as a bulwark to erratic social vibrations; his horse sense has been an anchor amid the fluctuations of economic change. But human nature everywhere will snort under the whip. Beneath the skin, the farmer is sensitive. It may take a longer time for a wrong to prick him, but once aware, he moves with slow inevitability, like a boulder rolling valleyward.

Throughout the rural areas of New Jersey, New York, and parts of Connecticut—as indeed throughout the country—the farmer is grumbling. The grumble threatens to deepen into a roar. Lacking a voice to trumpet his grievances, and untutored in the tactics of mass action, he is unable to fight the enemy in the open. Besides, living apart has made him unfit for controversy. He is therefore following the readiest road of his instincts. They tell him that labor without reward is futile. Accordingly, in moments of depression, he threatens to stop producing. In fact, as an emergency weapon, a number have begun to practice this form of sabotage. "We can always grow enough for home use," is frequently heard. This futile way of hitting back might easily become widespread under severe provocation.

Not many weeks ago, I spoke to scores of up-State farmers and was alarmed at the unanimity of their views. They talk like men who have pondered ancient grievances and are rousing themselves from sleep. I set down a typical talk as showing which way the gale will blow. The milk cart rolled slowly along the mountain path. I turned to the driver, a typical, slow-witted Yankee dairyman, and asked:

"Do you expect a good year?"

A momentary pause, the customary expectoration, then the drawl over the poised corn-cob: "Not much."

"Why?"

"Didn't plant much. Just enough potatoes and things to store in the cellar for the winter."

"What's the trouble?"

"Hi— Trouble enough! Can't make the farm pay."

"Then you don't intend to sell your products?"

"Why should I? We don't make enough. The farmers round here are gettin' to the point where they don't care. That's why most of 'em's raisin' just enough for home use."

He shrugged his shoulders doubtfully and flicked the reins.

As a matter of fact, the farmer's income is the most variable quantity in nature. The fortunes of farming fluctuate as wildly as the Wall Street market during a panic. It is safe to say that most farmers do not know definitely whether they gain or lose at the end of the year. They just push along and muddle through. Farm bookkeeping requires considerable figuring ability if one is to follow such a scientific method as the cost-accounting system of the New York College of Agriculture. At present it has only fifty-two farms under its jurisdiction. One of the supervised farmers learned that at the end of the first year he suffered a deficit of $4.70 per cow; at the end of the second year, $5.60, while for the third year he earned a surplus of $11 on each cow. There is little doubt that accurate accounting of farmers' incomes would show more deficits than surpluses.

"But," I persisted as my taciturn companion puffed away, "who *is* making all the profit?"

"Armour, Nestlés, Sheffield, Borden, and the middleman. Them fellers is pilin' up the dough—but not us—no siree!"

I hesitated to prod further. There is something about the manner of these men of the soil that discourages probing. I summoned courage for a final shot.

"But milk? Doesn't that pay well?"

He grinned sardonically. "No. We're gettin' $3 for a hundred pound milk. To make a decent sum we ought to earn from $5 to $6. But then I suppose the dealers would charge you city folks thirty cents a quart."

I reckoned on the basis of 2.15 pounds a quart that the milk he sells at six cents a quart is sold to the housewife at sixteen cents. Why the margin of ten cents? I suggested cooperative dairies, cooperative bottling and sterilization plants, the elimination of the middleman, socialization of railroads, and other off-hand panaceas familiar to armchair theorists. He smiled at my heavy prescription. "Tell it to the Dairymen's League." By this time my questions had the effect of unsealing a reservoir of rancor which flowed without further pumping. "Look at the price of feed," he went on. "They've jacked it up to $60 a ton." The thought rankled deep as it does in every other farmer I have met. By feed he means concentrated grains, such as gluten feed for cows and whole grain for horses. Every dairyman must have horses to cart the hay to the barn and milk to the platform, for the contract price implies delivery. Hay and corn, which constitute the roughage in the diet of cattle, can be raised, but they are not enough to sustain animal life or yield a high-grade milk. Extracted protein products must be bought from the manufacturer.

"And look at labor," he continued with a ring of anger in his voice. "Hired hands now want from $4 to $4.50 a day with board. Why, in the next village men are receiving $100 a month with board and washing. Jumping pickerel! Who ever heard of such wages for farm hands? And then we can't get help when we need it bad. If the whole family don't pitch in at haying and harvest time, the hay rots and the crops go to the devil." He spat again by way of relief and fell back in gloomy meditation.

No. He did not overstate. The price of machinery, feed, and fertilizers is becoming prohibitive. All the profits

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formerly made are now swallowed up by the corporations that sell farm necessities. In self-defense, therefore, the farmer has had to organize. He feels a closer kinship with the city proletariat than ever before, though he may not confess it. Circumstances are throwing him into the same lap of fate. The rise of the Nonpartisan League, despite apparent set-backs, has been steady. The growth of cooperative leagues among truck-growers, fruit farmers, and dairymen has been remarkable. Within the last few years considerable progress has been made in the cooperative marketing of farm products, such as fruit, potatoes, dairy products, and live stock. The movement is spreading to include timber products. There are now in operation a number of cooperative shingle mills and box factories which supply boxes to fruit growers at cost. The last survey undertaken by the United States Bureau of Markets (1914) reported approximately 12,500 farmers' purchasing and marketing associations in this country.* Since then the number has leaped upward.

In the East, the best-known farmer group is the Dairymen's League. Its membership, scattered throughout six States (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont), supports 1,103 local branches. From 15,000 in 1916 it has grown to number approximately 90,000 members. Primarily protective in purpose, it serves as intermediary between producer and distributor. It bargains directly for the farmer and sells his product at contract prices which vary from month to month. For example, the price of July 3 per cent milk was $2.95 a hundred pound delivered to the platform within a 210-mile zone of New York City. August milk fetched $3.35. Of course, the advantages of a bargaining agent are apparent. The farmer knows that his milk will find a market though not always at a price above cost. As an instance, December milk was sold at a loss of one cent plus, per pound. In 1916, before the league became a selling agent, he received $1.41 per hundred pound. Three years later the price was $3.01.

Naturally the farmer is unhappy. When we consider the increased expenses of farming, the yearly surplus is either negligible or a minus figure. In hundreds of cases it is estimated that his income is below that of the humblest artisan. What then is the farmer to do? Stay on the land when higher wages are beckoning in town? Many are renting their land or leaving it idle to follow a trade. The small margin of profit, though the major cause of rural discontent, is but one of a number. The lack of labor has been a sharp thorn in the flesh. Last autumn one could see acre upon acre of corn, lettuce, and cabbage rotting and being choked by weeds and high grass for want of men to gather the crops. The Chester Meadows near Goshen, New York, are but one of the many areas that present such a wasteful spectacle. Many vegetable growers were forced to sell their potatoes and beans to town folk with the proviso that they came to gather them.

As if the dairyman's lot weren't sufficiently hard, he is often driven to desperation by a kind of inspection that might better be called pin-pricking. In his present temper he is impatient of anything that will harass him unjustly. When, therefore, ignorant and incompetent inspectors from the New York City Department of Health give idiotic instructions and make stupid criticisms, he is ready to throw up the sponge. Farmers resent the clumsy meddling of Tammany politicians whose knowledge of farming has been picked up along the Bowery or around the fountain of Madison Square. For instance, for what appears an infringement of sanitation, such as frosted dairy windows on a frosty January day (though they may have been washed perfectly clean the night before and be at the proper temperature behind), two points are deducted by way of threat to shut out of the city market. In milk counties the practice of New York City inspection is well established. The State inspectors, for the most part, are competent and get on well with the farmers. When the provocation therefore becomes unbearable the farmer sells or slaughters his cows and washes his hands clean of the whole business. To us, such a reason for refusing to carry on may seem trivial, but, to a degree, it is responsible for lowering the mark of production.

As a logical consequence, the drift to the cities flows faster year by year. On February 1 last year, the Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management of the New York State College of Agriculture in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Crop Estimates obtained reports from 3,775 New York farms. The figures show a decrease of 3 per cent in the number of persons living on farms, while the number of hired men decreased 17 per cent. Of the habitable houses occupied a few years ago by hired men 10 per cent are vacant. If the same ratio holds for all farms in this State, then it is estimated that the net loss to one State of men and boys who left farming to enter other industries within the past year was 24,000. Compare this estimate with similar figures for the year ending February 1, 1918, when the net loss was only 7,000. Within two years the loss has multiplied 3.4 times. For the bordering States figures are not available.

More and more the difficulties of farm life increase. Added to the hazards of wind, lightning, tornado, and excessive rain are the man-inflicted burdens of a silly system that will not encourage maximum production, nor assist to transport products to terminal markets and warehouses in the most economical and efficient manner. To ignore the toiler who draws from the soil the means of life is sheer insanity. We reward more handsomely the makers of cigars and perfumes.

There is but one conclusion: the farmer's position must be safeguarded. He must be assured a workable return on his labor and capital. Childish illusions about farm prosperity are remote from the truth. There are the few who prosper, while the many hobble along painfully. Facility in gathering crops and marketing them at a tangible surplus, no profiteering in machinery, packing material, feed, and fertilizer, a ready labor market, and less pin-pricking by governmental officials will keep the farmer on the land.

* See Farmer's Bulletin 1,100, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Poetae Minores

By ALBERT EDMUND TROMBLY

Nightingales and larks are found
Not everywhere: they can't go round.

Room enough and more there is,
Warblers, bluebirds, goldfinches.

Many a country would be dull
Should there be a cricket-lull.

Crickets, when the larks are flown,
Warm us with their undertone.

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Non-Cooperation—India's New Weapon

By YOGIRAJA

THE policy of non-cooperation has been inaugurated in India. How it will work out remains to be seen. It means, according to its principal supporter, Mahatma Gandhi, the boycotting not only of British-made goods, but also of the new councils, the law courts, and educational institutions. It is not probable that the last two will be boycotted by the majority, even if the first two are, since the average Indian still has faith in British justice and moreover believes that there is no advantage in withdrawing boys from government schools until you can create a large number of private schools. Mr. Gandhi's object seems to be to show that the Indian people can exist without dependence on the British, and this, he thinks, can be successfully demonstrated only by following the policy of non-cooperation. In other words, he aims at the achievement of self-government for India passively by a complete withdrawal of cooperation with the Government.

There are several causes that have led to the adoption of such a policy, among them the awakening of the national conscience through the study of the international situation of the world as created by the war. It is argued that if England fought for the liberty of small nations like Belgium, and that if the great European nations, together with America, agreed upon self-determination as a criterion for national readjustment, India may reasonably expect England to apply the same criterion to her. England, indeed, agreed to a measure of self-government for India through the Government of India Reforms Act recently passed, but this measure has failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people, who demand a more liberal treatment, not only because of their unstinted support of the war, but also because of the necessity of meeting their legitimate national aspirations. The average Indian bitterly complains that instead of impressing the Indians with the British sense of gratitude for their admirable part in the war, Britain passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of all opposition and is responsible alike for General Dyer's behavior at Amritsar in shooting down by machine guns a vast multitude of people, and for the bombs said to have been dropped from airplanes on the town of Gujranwalla. These things, not to speak of the utter humiliation inflicted on them in the Punjab by the martial law regime, have created misgivings in the minds of people who lay claim to an ancient civilization. The knowledge that the officials guilty of last year's martial-law excesses have escaped punishment and that General Dyer, far from being adequately dealt with, is allowed to draw half the usual pension from the pockets of the Indian rate-payer is enough to create in their minds a deep sense of resentment.

All these circumstances have resulted in the organization of the policy of non-cooperation. There is, moreover, another remarkable factor that will greatly contribute toward making this movement a success. I refer to the close entente between Hindus and Moslems, the two great sects of India which have cut each other's throats for centuries. Their quarrels have ceased; they have begun to respect each other's aspirations. This unity of interests, brought about partly by the treatment accorded to Turkey after the war, differentiates the non-cooperation movement of today radically from the Swadeshi movement of a decade ago. Both indicate a policy of boycott toward the British. The latter was more restricted in scope, however, aiming at the boycott of British-made goods only, and soon collapsed owing to a want of national unity and the lack of a leader who could win the confidence of Hindus and Moslems alike. The present movement is much more extensive, and its chief supporter is a man held in high esteem by the majority of both sects.

The National Congress held a special sitting at Calcutta during September when a sub-committee was formed to study the question in detail and work out a scheme whereby the policy might be put into practice. This sub-committee consisted of Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, and Patel, who have since issued their report, together with the note of reservations and dissent by Patel. It purports to be for those who approve of the resolution of non-cooperation passed at the special congress of Calcutta which advised:

1. Boycott of government titles and honorary offices;
2. Boycott of government functions, such as levees and durbars;
3. Gradual boycott of educational institutions controlled wholly or in part by the Government, and opening of national institutions instead;
4. Gradual boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants and institution of private arbitration courts;
5. Boycott of legislative councils both by candidates and the electorate;
6. Boycott of recruiting of clerks, soldiers, etc., for service in Mesopotamia;
7. Boycott of foreign goods;
8. Promotion of home industry.

It has been proposed by Mr. Gandhi that this program shall be gradually carried out in the spirit of absolute non-violence, a proposal approved by the congress charged with the determination of ways and means.

The first item is the boycott of titles. There is a class of people who look upon titles and honorary offices as things worth having at any cost. These people must be disillusioned as to the real value of these things, and "must be educated to consider gifts from an unrighteous government as a dishonor to be shunned." A list of all title-holders and honorary officials is to be drawn up, and such people are to be induced in all respect and humility to renounce their so-called marks of honor. No pressure of any kind is to be brought to bear on them; the renunciation is to be entirely voluntary. Patel supplements this procedure by the following lines of action:

a. All Indian newspapers should in future in their writings drop all references to titles, and the title-holders should be addressed or referred to as Mr. or Esquire;
b. No Indian newspaper should in future publish in its columns any honors' list or any nominations by government;
c. The Indian public in addressing title-holders should drop all references to titles as in the case of newspapers.

Another item is the boycott of government educational institutions. Opinion on this point not being unanimous, only a "gradual" boycott is proposed, meaning thereby that immediate results need not be expected owing to the great confusion in the people's minds concerning these schools

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and colleges. People are required to realize that the aim of such institutions is to prepare the young for a degree as a stepping-stone to government service, but when such service is not needed the utility of the schools and colleges ceases automatically. Boys should be withdrawn and placed in national schools which are to spring up immediately, but so long as they do not come into existence, private tuition should be resorted to. Where that is impossible owing to economic strain, boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artisans. Volunteer teachers should be enlisted and national schools opened, government aid dispensed with, and government service relinquished.

The fourth item is the boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants. It is said that a real national awakening of the masses should manifest itself in the decrease of crime and consequently of litigation. If people are seriously thinking of their national problems, they will hardly find time to pick up private quarrels and go to law courts for redress. Lawyers, who have always taken a prominent part in all nationalist movements, would naturally be expected to suspend practicing their profession and devote their time and energy to intensive public work. A national fund should be created for the support of such lawyers as suspend their practice and place their talents at the service of the nation. Litigation now pending should be withdrawn and referred to national arbitration courts presided over by lawyers and prominent citizens. The national fund should, moreover, be devoted to the encouragement of home industries and the maintenance of national schools and colleges.

If popular leaders seek election to legislative councils, people can hardly be expected to understand the policy of non-cooperation. To insure consistency, these councils must be boycotted. Self-government will not come as a free gift to the people from the Government, but as something forced on them by necessity. The councils will not hasten such a necessity. Candidates should be persuaded to withdraw their names, and electors to declare that they do not care for representation in the provincial legislative council and to repudiate candidates persisting in seeking admission to it. The declaration concludes: "We do not desire to be represented in the reformed councils till justice has been granted in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab, and Swarajya is established in India." A propaganda is also to be conducted for the purpose of dissuading all persons from service in Mesopotamia when the present situation in the country should be explained to them.

People should forthwith boycott foreign goods, limit their wants, and dispense with luxuries that are dependent on the use of foreign goods. The use of foreign cloth has been most detrimental to the people of India by robbing thousands of weavers of an honorable and lucrative occupation. To supplement the output of the Indian mills, hand-spinning and hand-weaving should be encouraged. Women in particular can do a great deal in this line. In every street arrangements should be made to give lessons in handling such hand looms.

This is a brief summary of the whole scheme. Reports show that so far only a small number of persons have actually carried out any one or more of the proposals. There is at present no unanimity on this subject on its practical side, even among the leaders of the Congress. I have referred to Patel's note of dissent. Therein he shows how the carrying out of some of the items would be tantamount to an "unconstitutional" act. "The stage which involves resignations of government employees, particularly those in the military department, can hardly be deemed constitutional." He also declines to agree with the "gradual" boycott of schools, colleges, and courts, and proposes that for some time to come attention be concentrated on boycotting councils as completely as possible. Other leaders, like Pandit Malaviya, hold another view, and moderates, still another. For instance, the former, while declaring himself in favor of the policy of non-cooperation, differentiates between the legitimate and illegitimate items of the program. Concerning the boycott of the councils he said: "Mr. Gandhi thought that if people refused to enter councils, the Government would feel that they were dissatisfied, but it was to be considered whether the people would generally favor the policy. If some of them would refuse to enter the councils, there were others who would go there. Their duty was to send the best men to the councils, their objective being to establish responsible government. If they had strong men in the councils, they would be able to expose the wrongs done by the executive both inside and outside of the councils."

The latest news from India is that the Nationalists seem to be very anxious to give the non-cooperation policy a full swing in order to create an "impression" on the Government. Mr. Gandhi is reported to have visited the Punjab recently and to have secured the sympathy and cooperation of the warlike race of the Sikhs also. At Lahore Mr. Gandhi met hosts of students of the different schools and colleges to whom he preached the cult of non-cooperation. Addressing a large assembly of students there he said: "Abandon the use of these foreign clothes; take to *Khaddar* (coarse stuff) produced by hand looms; boycott all foreign-manufactured cloth, and all government-aided schools and colleges. Let us open our own schools and colleges on national lines!"

The next day the majority of students from all local schools and colleges came out on strike. They attacked the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School. Benches were broken, window panes smashed. The attackers kept shouting: "Come along, brothers! Leave these schools! Victory to Mahatma Gandhi! Victory to the Hindu-Moslem entente!" Altogether about 60,000 students walked out of various educational institutions, amid great excitement in the student community. To meet such popular explosions and to maintain order, the formation of volunteer corps has been suggested. According to latest reports, the policy of non-cooperation seems to be developing into a reality. What measures the British Government will take with regard to this new and growing movement remains to be seen.

Contributors to This Issue

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In the Driftway

"THE constantly increasing costs of living in Bagdad with increased rents, clerk hire," etc., the Drifter read in a consular report. And he rubbed his eyes, and told himself that romance was gone from the world. His morning paper had given him a fleeting thrill when he read of fighting in the mountains of Tipperary, for it seemed that fighting in the mountains of Tipperary must be hobgoblin warfare carried on with cobweb-woven spells; but in the next paragraph he read of armored lorries and machine-guns and the ugly accouterments of realistic modern murder. Clerk hire in Bagdad, and machine-guns in Tipperary —what is the excuse for telegraph and cable if instead of adding to the pictured mysteries of the far corners of the world, they but divest it of all color, and reduce the whole earth to a monotonous sphere of rising rents, second-rate stenographers, and Winchester rifles?

* * * * *

Disgusted, the Drifter cast the consular report and the morning paper into the gaping waste basket, and fingered the foreign papers that rose mountain-like on the editor's desk. A map of China, with lines of big black dots indicating railroads in process of construction stretching back from the rivers almost into the sacred precincts of Tibet, added to his spleen. Then he picked up a little French paper, radical, undersized, badly printed, unattractive to the eye. A paragraph stared at him telling of the arrival in Petrograd of the convoy of Russian children who, Odysseus-like, had wandered across the Urals and Siberia, the Pacific, America, and the Atlantic, from land to land on the long world-about voyage back to their starting-point. Another item told of the death at sea of three French Communists, pilgrims returning from their Moscow Mecca, who, avoiding the governmental formalities of passports, took to a tiny sailboat somewhere in the icy regions where Russia skirts the Arctic, on the day before a great storm broke. One of them was the ditch-digger Lepetit who, emerging from prison whither he had been sent for pacifist propaganda, a week before May Day, 1919, provoked the demonstration which brought red flags to the doors of the American peace delegation in Paris. The second was Vergeat, member of the metal-workers' union which sent delegates to meet German workers at Zimmerwald in the midst of the war. The third, Raymond Lefebvre, a gaunt young Norman bourgeois, came back from the war tubercular and, renouncing his life of comfortable literature, became a leader of the French extremists. This strangely assorted trio made the perilous underground pilgrimage to Russia, passed three feverish months studying their Jerusalem, set sail for home—and met the Arctic gale. After all, the Drifter meditated, though rents be high in Bagdad, and though banshees and leprechauns give way to Black and Tans, romance and adventure are immortal.

* * * * *

A PUBLIC official in Massachusetts has discovered that nine-tenths of all the unfaithful husbands in his bailiwick are blue-eyed. This is bad enough, but not as bad as if nine-tenths of all blue-eyed husbands were unfaithful—which is doubtless how the statement will presently be repeated. Anyhow it appears that in matrimony blue eyes are as much to be shunned by wise young women as blue beards.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Equitable Distribution of Products

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What is the matter with the great god Efficiency? For these many years our wise captains of industry, and profound and powerful thinkers on economics, have been preaching the gospel of increased production as the one great aim of industry. Speed up, hustle, get the goods out, has been the injunction of efficiency engineers to the industrial workers. Never mind about wages or long hours, the country needs the goods and you must make them.

And now. Thousands of factories and mills closed down or running on half time. More than 2,000,000 idle workers. Widespread industrial and commercial stagnation. All on account of lack of demand for goods. Is it just possible that the problem of an equitable distribution of the product of labor that will give the worker a purchasing power equal to the value of his product is of more importance than the making of things?

On the surface it would seem that the productive capacity of the country far exceeds its consuming capacity. This, of course, is nonsense. The people can use ten times as many goods as they now consume. They need more clothes, more shoes, more furniture, more food. Why do they not get them?

The platitudes about increased output per man will do service no longer. Factories are closed because the workers have produced too much. What is the use of vastly increasing production if the goods cannot be sold? It is not the workers who are to blame now. They are willing to work, but there is a lack of demand for their product. Will not some of these wise and solemn advisers of the workers apply what they think are their reasoning powers to the question of making the demand equal the supply?

New York, January 11 W. G.

The Origin of "A Scrap of Paper"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It may interest you and your readers to learn that the late Von Bethmann-Hollweg was not the originator of the now historic mot, "a scrap of paper," used in relation to Belgium's neutrality. The following communication to the Manchester *Labour Leader* for December 23, 1915, is of interest in this connection:

"Sir: A great deal has been made of the expression, 'scrap of paper,' used by the German Chancellor in a moment of extreme distress and agitation. . . . Exactly the same expression in almost precisely the same connection was used by the Russian minister, Baron Jomini, almost forty years before. On January 17, 1878, Baron Jomini, writing from Petrograd to the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs with reference to the passage of Russian troops through Rumania used the following words: 'Do not allow yourself to be deceived by the "humbug" (the English word "humbug" is actually used) of neutrality. That of Belgium, which is preached to you as a model, does not rest at all on treaties, which in our day, alas, are but *scraps of paper*. It is guaranteed by the powerful interest of England, her neighbors, not to allow a great Power to establish itself at Antwerp.'

"These words were used in cold blood to coerce a small nation. I hope that the press will not explode with moral indignation.

"Verb. sap.

"Yours, etc.,

"[Signed] RONALD CAMPBELL MACFIE, M.A., LL.D."

This shows alike that Von Bethmann-Hollweg did not originate the phrase and why he called the Belgium neutrality a scrap of paper.

Detroit, Michigan, January 5 OSCAR KLAUSNER

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Ben Trovato

By EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON

The deacon thought. "I know them," he began,
"And they are all you ever heard of them—
Allurable to no sure theorem,
The scorn or the humility of man.
You say 'Can I believe it?'—and I can;
And I'm unwilling even to condemn
The benefaction of a stratagem
Like hers—and I'm a Presbyterian.

Though blind, with but a wandering hour to live,
He found the other woman in the fur
That now the wife had on. Could she forgive
All that? Apparently. Her rings were gone,
Of course; and when he found that she had none,
He smiled—as he had never smiled at her."

Muriel Among the Redwoods

By JAMES RORTY

"How *can* they be so still?"
She marveled prettily, and from her ears
She shook the rings that jingled till
It seemed the redwoods might for once relent
And break their silence of two thousand years.

But no—the trees were all intent
On standing straight and growing high
And looking steadfast at the sky.
"How *can* they be so still?" she said
And fluttered onward; for the trees
Did not reply.

Books

Black Facing White

The Negro Faces America. By Herbert J. Seligmann. Harper and Brothers.

MR. SELIGMANN has now brought the Negro problem up to date, and no one who wishes to understand that problem can fail to take note of this book. Herein is narrated, for instance, the so-called "rebellion" in Phillips County, Arkansas, in October, 1919, for which a number of colored men have been sentenced to death; and here are the details of some of the latest lynchings. Amid all the horrible miscarriages of justice of which the United States has been the guilty scene during the past five years none is worse than this Arkansas case, which should be studied by all who still believe that the Southern white man knows how to handle the Negro and should be let alone to do so as he sees fit, and by all those who fail to see that at bottom the race problem is an economic one as it has been from the beginning of our history. In Phillips County some Negro share-croppers came together to discuss their emancipation from what is nothing else than industrial bondage. The meeting was raided by white men, firing began, and the rebellion was on—in the columns of the press—only to be followed by wholesale arrests and legal lynchings of hundreds of Negroes. It is no wonder that Mr. Seligmann speaks of Arkansas as the "American Congo."

Besides reporting unanswerable facts Mr. Seligmann gives us excellent discussions of such questions as "social equality" and sex relationships. He proves that the exploitation of the Negro as a wage-earner is fortified by race prejudice until it is difficult to see any way out as long as the Negro is disfranchised and remains without class solidarity and consciousness. That he does not organize is held up against him as one of his inherent weaknesses; if he does organize to free himself economically we have the horrors of Phillips County. He is denounced as a lazy rascal, the curse of the South, but if he accepts offers of any agent to emigrate in groups of fifty or more the agent is held to be guilty of crime under the laws of several States. Let the Negro seek to vote and, as happened in Florida recently, his people are killed for daring to exercise the right guaranteed to every American. Because he does not lift himself more rapidly in the social scale he is denounced as a weakling or a dullard; yet he is expected to rise rapidly when deprived of about every incentive that leads white men to be industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, and ambitious. He is without security of life and property; he cannot be certain of due process of law or of a trial by his peers (for he cannot sit on juries); and then if he lifts his head to demand the rights of a free man he is lynched and those of his race who voice the simplest desire for his constitutional guaranties are decried as bolsheviks, or solemnly written down as dangerous radicals by our incredible Attorney General.

Those truths and many others Mr. Seligmann sets forth. His book has but one serious defect. For some time past the chief hope and inspiration for better things has come from Southern sources. That sounds like a paradox in view of what has been said, but it is true. The still, small voice of conscience is beginning to be heard in the South. Southern men are beginning to lift up their voices and, here and there, to speak out; while in the North few interest themselves in the question, and many go over to the conventional Southern position. Mr. Seligmann does quote from the findings of such excellent Southern bodies as the University Commission on Race Questions, but a whole chapter might well have been devoted to the stirring that is going on within the South itself, where, despite the terrible influence of the dominant public opinion, a growing number of white men and women are daring to express themselves, each year more clearly, about the frightful crimes against the subject race from which the perpetrators suffer in the long run more than the oppressed. If ever there was a race that needed the One Big Union and the general strike it is the Negro. Should all Negro laborers lay down tools for three days industry in the South would cease. But any Negro who should venture into the South today to preach this doctrine would pay for it with his life. The South has the best and the most docile labor in the world and the largest and most homogeneous manual labor group in America. Anybody, black or white, who puts ideas into the heads of these millions of peons must expect for some decades to come to pay for, if not to swing for it.

O. G. V.

Hungry

Women in Love. By D. H. Lawrence. Privately Printed for Subscribers Only. (Thomas Seltzer.)
Hunger. By Knut Hamsun. Alfred A. Knopf.
Hungry Hearts. By Anzia Yezierska. Houghton Mifflin Company.

THE hunger of sex is amazingly and appallingly set forth by D. H. Lawrence, whose novel "The Rainbow" was suppressed in England and who has now brought out his "Women in Love" in the United States in a sumptuous volume delightful to eye and hand. Mr. Lawrence admits no difference between Aphrodite Urania and Aphrodite Pandemos; love, in his understanding of it, links soul and body with the same bonds at the same moments. And in this latest book of his not only is there but one Aphrodite; there is but one ruling divinity, and she

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holds her subjects throughout a long narrative to the adventure and business and madness and warfare of love. Apparently resident in the English Midlands, Gudrun and Ursula Brangwen and their lovers Rupert Birkin and Gerald Crich actually inhabit some dark wood sacred to Dionysiac rites. If they have an economic existence, it is of the most unimportant kind; at any moment they can come and go about the world as their desires drive them. If they have any social existence, it is tenuous, or at best hardly thicker than a tissue of irritations. War and politics and art and religion for the time being are as if they had never been. Each pair of lovers recalls those sundered lovers of whom Aristophanes told the guests at Plato's Symposium—lovers who, in reality but halves of a primordial whole, whirl through space and time in a frantic search each for its opposite, mad with delay, and meeting at last with a frantic rush which takes no account of anything but the ecstasy of reunion.

If references to Greek cults come naturally to mind in connection with "Women in Love," these lovers none the less have the modern experience of frantic reaction from their moments of meeting. They experience more than classical satiety. Mad with love in one hour, in the next they are no less mad with hate. They are souls born flayed, who cling together striving to become one flesh and yet causing each other exquisite torture. Their nerves are all exposed. The intangible filaments and repulsions which play between ordinary lovers are by Mr. Lawrence in this book magnified to dimensions half heroic and half mad. He has stripped off the daily coverings, the elaborated inhibitions, the established reticences of our civil existence, and displays his women as swept and torn by desires as old as the race and older, white-hot longings, dark confusions of body and spirit. Gudrun and Ursula are women not to be matched elsewhere in English fiction for richness and candor of desire. They are valkyries imperfectly domesticated, or, in Mr. Lawrence's different figure, daughters of men troubling the sons of God, and themselves troubled. No wonder then that the language which tells their story is a feverish language; that the narrative moves with a feverish march; that the final effect is to leave the witness of their fate dazed with the blazing mist which overhangs the record. Most erotic novels belong to the department of comedy; "Women in Love" belongs to the metaphysics and the mystical theology of love.

By comparison the wolfish rage for food which appears in Knut Hamsun's earliest novel, and which accurately reports his own early starvation time in Christiania, seems cool and spare. And yet "Hunger" is actually full of the fever of passion. The narrator walks the freezing streets as an animal might prowl through a naked forest, sustained by only one instinct; but, since he is a man, not a wolf or a bear, his mind ranges farther than his feet. The dim resentment of the beast rises up into a man's rages at the powers which condemn him to such agony. His rages now warm him, now drive him back to numbness again. The frame of the universe as he has conceived it twists and cracks and flows into new forms. He is haunted by such grotesque specters as those which tortured the cenobites of the Egyptian deserts. At the same time, his vision, in certain lucid moments, is a dozen times more penetrating than ever it could be were it not for the pain which drives him back and forth through the snowy city. Hamsun's triumph is his fusion of a vision fiercely accurate with visions that flutter in the atmosphere like a thousand gaudy banners.

Miss Yezierska, most newly arrived of our literary immigrants, does not escape touches of sentimentalism quite alien to Knut Hamsun or D. H. Lawrence. Her little book is full of tears that sometimes come too quickly, as if she had not learned that the quickest tears dry soonest. She repeats her formula—an immigrant girl longing for escape from bitter conditions—too frequently. When she leaves the East Side neighborhood to which her art is native she never quite has the look of reality. And yet she has struck one or two notes that our literature can never again be without, and she deserves the high credit of being one of the earliest to put those notes into engaging fiction. As a nation we have taken, she cries out, the bodies of our immigrants and used them to make the nation. But what of their souls? What of that radiant aspiration—alas, too often disappointed—which has drawn our immigrants hither from the most cramped and wretched corners of the earth? What of the uprush of affection which many of them, yes, most of them, still experience long after they may be thought to have won the right to disillusionment? These are elements in the national wealth which simply must not be wasted. "Hungry Hearts" is a genuine little horde of that wealth, an evidence of the tongue of flame which flickers beautifully above the slums in which we negligently leave some of our truest lovers.

C. V. D.

Arthur Hugh Clough

Arthur Hugh Clough. By James Insley Osborne. Houghton Mifflin Company.

OF a man who generally lacked nerve, and of whom the most that can be said is that "he had a positive genius for being . . . good"; of a poet who lacked "passion and an acute sense of beauty," the hero of whose best poem is "unattractive, uninspiring, and unprofitable," and of whom the most that can be said is that he was to a painful, prosaic degree intellectually honest—of such a writer it might appear altogether superfluous to have written a biography. Of any nineteenth-century poet-doubter, indeed, it sometimes seems graceless to record further facts. Biography and criticism cannot go on forever being interested in helpless men, at least of a certain sort. A Hamlet or a Henry Adams is perennially important, but adolescent Arnolds and valetudinarian Cloughs grow tiresome. Something strangely vague and soft about them renders them difficult to see or hear or touch, while the bland myopia which philosophically and historically is their claim to consideration becomes more and more impossible to appreciate. They sought truth, of course, but after what sleepy periods of error! They shed illusions—but what third-rate illusions! First-rate minds in any generation and place have been clearer from birth. They have had their awakenings, but not from a village torpor, and not with audible gasps.

Mr. Osborne, despite all this, has written a skilful and interesting book. Finely sympathetic toward the psychology of failure, and equipped with a delicate, grave sense of biographical values, he has tracked Clough's spirit through a boyhood in England and America, through a priggish and dreamless discipleship to Dr. Arnold at Rugby, through a vacantly stoic discipline at undergraduate Oxford, through a fellowship at Oriel, through the composition of three long poems, "The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich," "Amours de Voyage," and "Dipsychus," and through ten faint, final years to a death from paralysis in 1861. Mr. Osborne's temper, at least as it exhibits itself here, is almost too well suited to his subject. A heartier, less scrupulous treatment might have left more oxygen in the air at the really depressing end. Mr. Osborne's narrative is quiet and watchful. His style is a suspended, contemplative style, registering sometimes speculation and sometimes reverie, but always careful concern about Clough's processes. Accomplished in the art of condescension, he perhaps condescends too much to Clough. Capable of mordant comment somewhat as Lytton Strachey is capable, he almost bites his man to death. With a penchant for perplexities, he emphasizes Clough's perplexities at the expense of the several decisive qualities that he had. The poet knew his healthy moments; Mr. Osborne rarely, and then almost regretfully, lifts him from his spiritual sick-bed.

After all, Clough cannot be laid permanently away. It was not a wholly passionless and futile man of whom Carlyle could write to Froude, extravagantly perhaps (and Mr. Osborne conscientiously estimates the extravagance): "A mind

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more vivid, more ingenious, more veracious, mildly radiant, I have seldom met with, and in a character so honest, modest, kindly." A wholly dull man would not have elicited such adjectives from Lowell (and Mr. Osborne does not omit them) as "rare," "original," and "charming." A wholly insignificant poet might not have done so sensible a thing as emulate Crabbe at forty-two and begin a cycle of tales like "Mari Magno." He probably would not have executed so powerful and accurate a philosophical piece as Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth. He certainly would never have sung:

They may talk as they please about what they call pelf,
And how one ought never to think of one's self,
And how pleasures of thought surpass eating and drinking—
My pleasure of thought is the pleasure of thinking
How pleasant it is to have money, heigh ho!
How pleasant it is to have money.

M. V. D.

Books in Brief

THERE may have been more sprightly women in colonial New England than that Madame Sarah Kemble Knight who late in 1704 rode on horseback from Boston to New York by the Shore Line route and who kept the "Journal" which, first published in 1825, has now been reissued (Small, Maynard) in a beguiling edition printed by Bruce Rogers; but they did not write books of travel. Madame Knight, a person of some modest importance in Boston, found the condition of roads and inns raw almost beyond endurance, and the yokels along the way inquisitive with an ardor which would be hardly credible were it not for the additional evidence which has come down to us from other sources. When she sought for guides at Dedham she found the available persons "tyed by the Lipps to a pewter engine," and at last had to put up with a personage who told her so many tales of his adventures that she remembered "the Hero's in Parismus and the Knight of the Oracle." The fords were appalling and the food no less so; Madame Knight, certainly not a squeamish woman, repeatedly went hungry rather than eat the best she could get at the stations of her journey. Nor had she a more comfortable time when it came to sleeping; she suffered from mattresses which "Russelled as if shee'd bin in the Barn amongst the Husks," and at one inn was kept awake by fellow-guests brawling over the meaning of the word Narragansett until she composed an invocation in verse which seemed to take effect:

I ask thy Aid, O Potent Rum!
To Charm these wrangling Topers Dum.
Thou hast their Giddy Brains possest—
The man confounded wth the Beast—
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy fumes:
O still their Tongues till morning comes!

She was as curious about New Haven as if it were a foreign country and soberly set down what she could pick up about Connecticut customs and polity, not forgetting to pay her respects to the Blue Laws. The Indians interested her, as did "New Rochell a french town," and above all the "Cittie of New York . . . . a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a Commodious River wch is a fine harbour for shipping. The Buildings Brick Generaly, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. . . . Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends Houses who handsomely treat them. Mr. Burroughs cary'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowes, a Gentlewoman that lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six Dishes and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c. all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we mett 50 or 60 slays that day—they fly with great swiftness and some are so furious that they'le turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart."

IN a pamphlet entitled "The War and the Empire: Some Facts and Deductions" (Oxford University Press) Sir Charles Lucas, who is perhaps the foremost living authority on modern British colonial administration, discusses certain aspects of the history of the British Empire during the World War. He believes that the recent territorial gains of the Empire illustrate the processes by which it has expanded in earlier wars. Though a result of war, these gains, he insists, are owing not to militarism and the desire for imperial aggrandizement, but to unforeseen circumstances and the need of security. As evidence that the war has made for greater equality, Sir Charles cites the leveling tendencies in British military and civil life, the extension of the franchise to women in the United Kingdom and in Canada, the participation in military operations in Europe of colored troops from Africa, Asia, and the West Indies, and the recognition of the rights of India in the British Imperial Commonwealth. The war, in his opinion, has greatly strengthened the sense of nationhood in the Dominions, and he sees in "equal partnership" the only possible basis for the Empire of the future. He distinguishes between the feeling of "nationhood" and the sentiment of "nationalism." The former, which he regards as "wholesome," aspires to equality of status within the Empire between the Dominions and the United Kingdom; the latter, which he considers "much less wholesome," desires independence and secession from the Empire. The good kind of nationality is in evidence in Australia and New Zealand; the bad kind, among the Dutch Nationalists of South Africa. Sir Charles tells us that the future of backward peoples lies not in "self-determination" or "internationalization," but in "trusteeship," and, stalwart champion of British imperialism that he is, he adds: "The best trustee must necessarily be a nation, such as our own, which has had long training in this highly-skilled work and has bred for many generations a school of men with ample store of precedents and traditions as to what to do and what to avoid, relying on justice rather than force, and promoting the development of the native races on their own lines and through their own usages in preference to worrying them into alien and unaccustomed ways." Apparently there is no limit to Britain's capacity to sustain the White Man's Burden!

ALL men are created equal, except that no two of them are exactly alike. Our selective draft, selective on the theory that the national emergency required each person to serve at the point where he could be of the greatest value, made necessary a machinery for classifying people rapidly and adequately. The general principles of the various schemes for testing human ability are described for the non-technical reader in "Measure Your Mind" (Doubleday Page), by Professor M. R. Trabue of Teachers College and Frank P. Stockbridge. The book gives the layman a great deal of reliable information about the methods used for testing in the army, in industry, in educational classification, and so on. Indeed, the authors might well have taken a little more for granted; a large part of our population has already come directly or indirectly into contact with one or another type of mental test. The "Mentimeter" is submitted by the authors as a collection of some thirty tests or sets of tests, compiled from many sources, and in some cases adapted. The directions for conducting the test are given, and the appendices contain, in addition to the army Alpha and Beta tests, the correct solutions for all the problems, except those that call for special stencils or figures. Many will want to use a book like this to prepare themselves for tests, as others use quiz-compends; but the chief value of the book lies in its contribution to the general education of the public.

"CHAMPAGNE is a mild stimulant by comparison with this pain of mine. A black, misty, mounting flood which sweeps me off, tosses me back and forth like a cork on its tide." On such a turbulent tide was composed Elizabeth Shepley Ser-

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geant's brilliant "Shadow-Shapes: The Journal of a Wounded Woman, October 1918—May, 1919" (Houghton Mifflin). The title is derived from a poem by Siegfried Sassoon, the material from the impressions of Miss Sergeant in field and Paris hospitals as she slowly and painfully outgrew the effects of a grenade accidentally exploded while she was visiting the front as a representative of the *New Republic* a few weeks before the armistice. The tide of her text as she proceeded was as turbulent as that of her pain, running finally into the most impressionistic, breathless prose. But turbulence was never confusion. "The tossing and swirling do not muddle my head. Somehow they clarify. Never did my senses feel so acute." Books so concentrated, so vivid, and so sustained in their spiritual excitement rarely get written.

INDIVIDUAL man is so incurably proud, that literary and philosophical resemblances, like family resemblances, are pathetic in proportion as they are marked. There is something distinctly pathetic about the fact that Bruce Frederick Cummings, or "W. P. N. Barbellion," whose "Journal of a Disappointed Man" burst so feverishly into fame a year ago, and a posthumous collection of whose fugitive works is published now under the title "Enjoying Life and Other Literary Remains" (Doran), reads, however sincerely and passionately he wrote, so exactly like some nineteenth-century members of his literary species. This fact need not mean that he is insignificant, but it should remind certain of his admirers that he is not unique. There can be no doubt, for instance, that his zest for living, though desperate, is convincing and contagious. "When I awoke . . . I lay still for a moment in luxurious anticipation and listened to a tiny joy, singing within like the voice of a girl in the distance, until at last great waves of happiness roared through my heart like sea-horses." But that zest is clearly the valetudinarian zest of Stevenson and Thoreau and Richard Jefferies. Cummings had an insatiable thirst for things: "I cannot concentrate. I am ready to do anything, go anywhere, think anything, read anything"; he fed on phenomena. But so did Amiel, and so in another century did Rousseau, and so in still another did Sir Thomas Browne. It was the fascination of facts, incidentally, that made Barbellion a naturalist rather than a metaphysician; he could not order and subordinate, or assume and ignore, the innumerable details of his universe, but must be plunged every moment among them. One essay here, On Journal Writers, is as authoritative as any upon the subject; for Barbellion's soul was first and last the soul of a keeper of journals.

A VERITABLE diamond mine for anthropologists is "Kentucky Superstitions," by Daniel Lindsey Thomas and Lucy Blayney Thomas (Princeton University Press), wherein nearly 4,000 separate folk-beliefs have been classified and listed. The authors, operating by correspondence and by interview, through town and country schools and through a variety of neighborhoods, have combed approximately clean, for their particular purposes, the mountain whites, the lowland whites, and the lowland Negroes of a State whose more isolated districts have retained in peculiar profusion the primitive Indo-European faiths and practices. The layman in these matters will be surprised at hearing that "the negroes originally obtained most of their superstitions from the whites," and as servants and slaves have only been giving them back to white children. "The only class of original contributions made by the Negroes . . . is that of the hoodoo or voodoo signs, which were brought from Africa by the ancestors of the present colored people of America." The authors have been content with printing their superstitions as they found them, and have interposed no apparatus of hypothesis or genesis-hunting. Anthropologists, historians, novelists, and poets can now do what they please with the material, and there is much that can be done. Mark Twain would have been delighted with the book, although in fact he did not need it; every superstition made use of in "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer" appears in these pages. "The amusement of the curious" was the last aim of the authors; yet the curious will everywhere be profoundly amused, and they will even envy the Louisville Negroes such a notion as that "If you cut your eye-lashes you will be able to see the wind."

WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHWAITE'S "Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1920 and Year Book of American Poetry" (Small, Maynard) is a thinner volume than any of its predecessors since the first. The bibliographical apparatus, which in some years has been the most valuable thing about the book, is reduced by omitting the Biographical Index and the reviews of Important Volumes of Verse; and the poems themselves are considerably fewer. The first retrenchment has not done harm, while the second has done good; the number of trivial performances included is negligible when set over against the admirable body of deeply spirited poetry brought here from the work of John Gould Fletcher, Amy Lowell, Winifred Welles, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Sara Teasdale, David Rosenthal, Leonora Speyer, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Ida O'Neil, and John Erskine. The Introduction, an analysis of America's poetical soil called Tap-Root or Melting Pot, is reprinted from the editorial pages of *The Nation*.

"CHIPS of Jade: Being Chinese Proverbs with More Folk-Sayings from Hindustan and Other Oriental Countries. Rhymed in English" (Dutton) by Arthur Guiterman is a thoroughly delectable addition to the already rich proverb-literature which exists in English. Naturally, since the common denominator of the world's wisdom is prudence, Mr. Guiterman has concentrated upon the salt and sense of the Far East rather than upon the frankincense and beaten gold of its finer, solitary spirits. The best definition of a proverb yet made is Lord Russell's "The wisdom of many and the wit of one." The wisdom of the many in this case is seasoned with old folk-cynicism, while the wit of the one is sly and dry and adorably figurative:

> To do Good Deeds where none may mark
> Is much like Bowing in the Dark.
>
> Who sports with Ruffians earns his Broken Bones.
> What Business had the Eggs to dance with Stones?

JAPANESE poetry continues to furnish excuses and reasons for books in English. It is little more than an excuse for Edna Worthley Underwood's "Moons of Nippon: Translations from Poets of Old Japan" (Ralph Fletcher Seymour), in useless meter and obtrusive rhyme. It is at least half a reason for "Japanese Hokkus," by Yone Noguchi (Four Seas), wherein a Japanese long familiar with the speech of England and America communicates moods in miniature pieces inspired by the famous old seventeen-syllable form. In his preface he makes a valuable point about "suggestive" verse—"that your poem would certainly end in artificiality if you start out to be suggestive from the beginning." His command of English, unfortunately, is not perfect, so that in practice he fails, through lack of dignity and delicacy, to strike the balance he desires between ideas and facts which hint ideas. There is ample and excellent reason for Arthur Waley's "Japanese Poetry: The 'Uta'" (Oxford), which, with grammatical and historical introductions, a bibliography, a glossary, and notes explaining syntactical nuances, furnishes for the first time in English a translation of ancient *tanka* and *naga-uta* which is convincing as well as beautiful. Lafcadio Hearn was less literal, and not on the whole more fascinating.

THE services to learning of the various university presses, never entirely ended by the war, have been resumed in various quarters. From the Oxford University Press comes "Dantis Alagherii Epistolae," a careful text of Dante's letters edited, translated, and commented upon by Paget Toynbee with the care and acumen to be expected from his hand; and a minute study by C. B. Burchardt of the influence and reputation

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of modern Norway in England, published under the title "Norwegian Life and Literature: English Accounts and Views." The Cambridge University Press has just issued a collection of "Old English Ballads, 1553-1625," dealing for the most part with the struggle between Catholic and Protestant, particularly illuminating the Catholic side of the struggle, and excellently edited by Hyder E. Rollins of New York University; and "The Origin of Man and his Superstitions," by Carvath Read, an anthropological treatise devoted to the argument that the earliest form of human society was the hunting pack and that the development of man from animal has been attended by magic and animism for the reason that the elders of the hunt relied upon wizardry to maintain their prestige after their hunting prowess had departed. The Manchester University Press has published a competent monograph on "The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during the Tudor and Stuart Times," by Kathleen Lambley. The Harvard University Press publishes the thin, over-academic "French Classicism" of C. H. C. Wright of Harvard, who by this book will do much to confirm the uninstructed in the absurdly false notion that the writers of France's classical age are dull and bloodless. Columbia University makes the important announcement that the great edition of Milton long contemplated by Professor Trent is at last under way, with the cooperation of various of his colleagues. The edition is planned to be in eight volumes, six of prose, one of verse, and one of bibliography and notes. The text will be the best that has ever been prepared for Milton.

Art

An American Painter

AT several exhibitions in the recent past we have observed American artists, both native-born and naturalized, groping for a pure indigenous idiom on canvas. Every year, almost, a cluster of younger men emerge who essay in a tentative fashion to embody and reproduce our evolving American folk-lore. These dim feints and sallies show a fine spirit of exploration, a pragmatic desire to live by sight, as Manet lived by sight alone. If we have not yet produced a Whitman or even a Masters or a Sherwood Anderson in art, it may be that art as a medium for strict nationality is inherently recalcitrant—as Whistler, were he alive today, would be the first to insist.

The Montross Gallery is currently exhibiting the paintings of Frank Overton Colbert, an American Indian, a member of the Chickasaw tribe whose rapidly dwindling fragments may be found scattered throughout the States of Oklahoma, Arizona, and Mississippi. The Chickasaws are closely related to the Choctaws; their laws, language, and customs are substantially the same, except that the Chickasaws appear to be more sedentary, devoted to agricultural pursuits, oratory, and ceramics; their history, moreover, reveals a fine appreciation of the arts. Mr. Colbert, although educated in American schools, is deeply pervaded by the spirit of his tribe and race. He has saturated himself, as indeed he could not help doing, with the wealth of myths and legends that group themselves around the imaginative and suggestive customs of his people.

The impulse to express his people already keenly aroused, Mr. Colbert spent a number of years—his formative nonage—at the art schools and in the studios of several well-known American and European painters. This training brought with it intellectual confidence in the justness of his original impulse. As a result, he has issued from this student period altogether uncorrupted by the idiosyncratic duress which many of his intimate and well-wishing painter friends have sought to put upon him. A brief career as a poster artist netted him no positive disservice. In one sense the experience was helpful, for it reminded him that his race had long ago surprised the richest sources of color in natural objects, not one of which was so mean as not to volunteer golden hints for the artist's palette. Accordingly we find Mr. Colbert in his studio collecting red peppers and tomatoes, studying their merging shades in various lights, and thus rounding out his theory of the transition of color. No object however humble, as we have said, is overlooked by primitive man, and, just as the Egyptians, for example, preserved the delicate marking and tints of the beetle, so Mr. Colbert does not hesitate to study under the microscope a casual bedbug for design and color suggestions.

In reverting to his beginnings, Mr. Colbert has gone back to flat decorative surfaces, to the engaging symbolism of color and design such as we find in primitive art everywhere, to the symmetrical principle which is derived from the calling of the basket-maker who is obliged to arrange his material in a regular manner. We note, too, the primitive artist's exquisite simplification of objects, so that they may be fixed in the mind and easily recognizable. In Mr. Colbert's treatment of subjects we behold the lordly irony characteristic of the Indian, which is but the obverse side of his sturdy honesty.

The katchinas or gods and demigods of the Indians are masterfully portrayed by the Chickasaw artist. Each wears the insignia and sign-manual of his especial orb worked out in simplified designs on his blanket, mask, and picturesque headgear. A striking example of this is the God of Germination. In the center stands the god, posed as if he were thoroughly conscious of his divine vocation. He bears emerald green cornstalks in his hand and an ear of corn affixed upright on his head, while symbols of rain and sunlight are delicately woven in his blanket. The very colors pleached in his mat—vermilion, violet, yellow, and one neutral tone—accent the theme of fertility.

The caustic humor or satire of the Indian is visible in Mr. Colbert's picture of the tribal braggart homeward bound from the annual hunt. The subject is rather a good-looking young man who stalks with a gay abandon. The light slides suavely along his rippling brown musculature. A melon-shaped holiday mask, tipped at a rakish angle, adorns his head. Is not that swaying fierceness put on for sheer effect? No mistake is possible: brag makes him square his shoulders and gasconade inspires the freedom of his strife. But, while the others have fetched back from the hunt buffaloes and bisons, his trophy is a pair of harmless jack-rabbits and three field mice, which he carries toploftily in his arms.

Mr. Colbert responds willingly to his heritage of the decorative, and goes a step further. Using gradual transition, he manages to introduce the effect of perspective. Fine gradations of pigment enable him to achieve a suggestion of depth—dramatic or conventionalized depth. The blue immensity of the sky, for instance, is produced by laying on subtle shades of emerald green contrasted with deep violet and mauves. In his present showing the process of color transition is well modulated. Both nuance and contrast are achieved, and the composition as a whole possesses a special richness of tone ensemble.

All of Mr. Colbert's subjects are drawn from Indian folk-lore. He is not, however, a servile copyist of the models and materials visibly at hand. Between him and his sources there is, first and last, an identical language of design and symbol. That is how he manages to release his own personality while expressing the racial traits of the Red Man. The high intellectual passion of his own tribe is over all his work, and this, coupled with his native bias, gives him an unmistakable touch of originality.

To complain that his tones are over-rich, that his drawing is too studied and fine to squeeze the proper amount of feeling out of his primitive themes, would be wrong. The American Indian is always an excellent draftsman and a still better colorist. Thus Mr. Colbert has continued rigorously faithful to the spirit and tradition of his people, even while apparently departing to utter himself. Whether we believe in a strictly national art or no, surely this young Indian painter is well worth watching.

PIERRE LOVING

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Drama

Interlude

THE critic was quite suddenly charged with a duty. He hates duties imposed from without. It is hard enough to meet the obligations dictated from within. He was to take to the theater a lady whom he had barely met. He surveyed her coldly. Mouse-colored hair, bluish-gray eyes, a faintly agreeable precision and purity of lines, but no curves. Or, rather, all curves were subdued. Her clothes were neither rustic nor innocent. There was a pallid but ordered decorative scheme. A large ring of turquoise brought out the blue of her eyes. Severity is here, the critic reflected, partly a matter of defense; also of deference to a New England ancestry, a doctorate, and the authorship of several learned pamphlets. He was asked for suggestions and reminded that the lady's stay in New York was brief. He firmly named a given evening, promised a surprise, and was rewarded by a smile that was meant to be wintry and ended by being wistful.

He had his first misgiving when he conducted his friend to their seats in the Winter Garden on the opening night of "The Passing Show of 1921." She admitted that the auditorium was magnificent but glanced nervously at the little glass ash-receivers attached to the backs of the chairs. An obese gentleman on her left smoked an obese cigar; the lady with the diamond necklace in front lit a cigarette. The critic became for a moment false to his own harsh intentions. "I hope the smoke doesn't bother you." Of course she said that it didn't. Next she glanced wonderingly at the bridge which ran from the stage straight through the audience. "The chorus comes out there," the critic explained. He saw his friend's lips grow into mere lines. Suddenly he remembered that one of her pamphlets dealt with the classification of images in Latin poetry. He took a plunge and quoted:

Gratia cum Nymphis geminis que sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.

She laughed and there was a richer alto tone in the depth of that laughter than he had expected.

She hadn't seen the recent Broadway successes and the parodies bewildered her a little. The critic also knew that her spiritual antennae quivered perceptibly at the bare knees of the chorus. Nevertheless she admitted—discreet conversation was easy here—that there was something exhilarating in the play of light and color and rhythm. "The rhythmic movement of the lightly draped human body singly or in groups," the critic reminded her, "is not only the oldest but the mother of all the arts." She looked at him with grave wonder. "I've made that very statement." "Very well, here is your academic maxim come to life." Just then the lights grew dim and the chorus, carrying small, duskily glowing balloons, tripped across the bridge out into the audience. The lady watched the girls closely and almost with a quiver. Then she whispered, "I suppose the artifice saves it. They're like girls in a picture. Anyway it's lovely." The critic would have put it differently. But he was well content.

Only the chief comedian, he saw clearly, repelled her. A hard disdain came into her eyes—something aloof and feudal. She was building a wall of glass about her nerves. The critic crashed through. "Ah, yes," he said, "Howard has a monstrously Semitic nose and, apparently, a forehead of brass. But remember the clown must hit the fancy of the populace. We're not in the Watteau garden described by Pater; Howard is no Pierrot lunaire. This is New York. Howard's Yiddish jokes offend you. But you see, the descendants of the Back Bay families run no theaters—neither the Guild which you so delicately approve nor the Winter Garden which you are almost ready to endure. This rude farceur and Max Reinhardt of whom the cultured patter and the divine Sarah whom they glory to have seen all belong to the same tribe. Howard is, at least, effective. As a trombone, you think? The Harlequin doesn't play the horns of Elfland." She turned to the critic with a disarming smile. "I suppose he *is* funny." "Funny and, as he should be, vulgar. He wants to reach the profanum vulgus."

During the second part of the entertainment the learned lady did not speak. Her pupils expanded; her features softened and glowed. All her life she had been taken only to the more arid among the "better things." Intently she watched the magic melting of one exquisitely conventionalized background into another and watched Cleveland Bronner and Ingrid Solfeng dancing a vizualization of symbolic dreams. Here a new art was revealed to her, an art she had known only from the frozen gestures on some crumbling frieze. It was allied to music, but less intricate and more primitive—an art of expression divinely perfect yet wholly natural. Thus would we all dance if we could and dared and had the beauty and strength of body and were not the crippled slaves of routine and ugliness. Thus would we all, intoxicated by our own fleeting but immortal rhythms, throw off "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world." And now the critic's guest gave a little thrilled gasp when in the Firefly ballet the innumerable chorus surged in wild rhythmic lines about Mr. Bronner and a hundred limbs streaming through the changeful lights built up an altitude of pure motion like the fortissimo of a great orchestra. And she smiled and even swayed gently when, in later scenes, two less poetic and imaginative dancers created with their dry but inimitable nimbleness the moods of ordinary pleasure and liberation that we meet upon our dusty road.

She insisted on walking to her hotel. All her defenses had broken down. A lock of hair tumbled from under her hat and streamed in the wind. She said good-night with a strange swaying forward of her body. The lines had become curves. She chanted under her breath as she went "Gratia cum Nymphis."

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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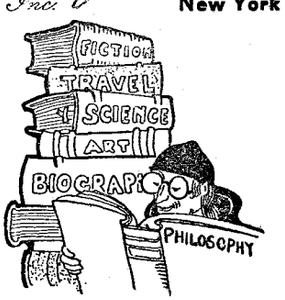

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International Relations Section

The Balance-Sheet of Austrian Misery

THE Austrian Trade Union Commission presented to the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions held at London in October a memorandum, dealing with the impossible economic situation and miserable conditions of life in Austria, which has particular interest in connection with the reported abdication of the Austrian Government in favor of the Entente's Reparation Commission established by the Treaty of St. Germain. This memorandum was summarized as follows in the *Arbeiterzeitung* (Vienna) of November 30, 1919.

The source of Austria's need, as of all Europe's, is the war; but the destructive aftermath of the economic crisis which followed the war struck Austria with particular force because the Treaty of St. Germain had dismembered Austria, cut her off from economic aid, disorganized her financially, and deprived her of the possibility of restoring herself by her own forces. Rich as the country is in forests and mountains, it can feed only a fraction of its population from its own harvests. Forests make up 46.8 per cent of the area of Styria; 44.1 per cent of Carinthia; 38.8 per cent of Tyrol; 34.5 per cent of Lower Austria. Far more than a third of the soil of the republic is unavailable for the production of foodstuffs. To supply one pound of flour and two and a half pounds of bread per week to each inhabitant of Austria will require the importation of 520,000 tons of grain even if 100,000 tons are delivered from the home harvest. And bread, sugar, milk, meat, and fat are lacking just as is bread; the Government estimates that the minimum importation necessary to maintain life for the next year, an amount scarcely sufficient to maintain the vital forces of the people in their present weakened state, will be $85,000,000; reckoning the dollar at 500 kronen, this amounts to 42½ billion kronen!

Such immense imports can be paid for only by export of Austrian goods. To increase exports as much as possible is hence an absolute life and death question for Austria. Austria has three very valuable raw materials: wood, magnesite, and iron ore; Austria has blast furnaces, smelting works, and rolling mills; a highly developed metal industry; locomotive factories; an important automobile industry; very efficient leather, woodwork, and furniture industries; and art and fancy goods industries favorably known in the markets of the world. But although there is a shortage of many other raw materials, the lack of coal is decisive. The average daily coal requirement is 48,000 tons; including the low-grade home product, the country has only 20,000 tons daily. Coal requirements at best are only 43 per cent covered. But the iron industry has only 35 per cent, the leather industry 25 per cent, the paper industry 23 per cent, the chemical industry 15 per cent, the textile industry only 12 per cent, of their requirements. The Alpine Montangesellschaft, Austria's biggest industrial enterprise, requires 5,000 cars of coke per month; but only 1,250 cars, on an average, reach it per month. The business is naturally seriously impeded. Almost all industries share the same fate: unemployment, short shifts, increase of the business deficit, decline in the value of the krone, increase of all prices, decline in the purchasing power of wages and salaries, growing pauperization of the working masses, are the consequences of the inadequate operation of our economic life.

The whole burden of the economic disaster falls upon the working classes and upon civil servants and office employees. Despite the great increase in the power of the working class in the state and in society, its economic position is worse than ever before. Increases in wages have not kept pace with the soaring cost of living. The average wages of various classes of workers in 1914 and in 1920 were as follows:

	July, 1914	October, 1920
	(in kronen)	
Highly skilled workers	50	1,100
Mechanics (*Professionisten*)	36	850
Skilled assistants	26	650
Assistants	20	550
Highly skilled women	30	600
Women mechanics	20	400
Women assistants	12	300
Retail prices, however, jumped as follows:		
Beef, per kilogram	1.95	120.
Pork, per kgm.	2.	160.
Lard, per kgm.	1.90	180.
Milk, per liter	.30	10.50
Butter, per kgm.	3.20	240.
Fresh eggs, each	.07	12.
Wheat flour, per kgm.	.44	11.
Mixed bread, per 1,250 gms.	.32	6.
Potatoes, per kgm.	.24	7.20
Onions, per kgm.	.40	11.
Lentils, per kgm.	.64	56.
Peas, per kgm.	.48	56.
Sugar, per kgm.	.84	46.
Corn, per kgm.	.16	11.
Roasted coffee, per kgm.	5.	200.
Beer, per liter	.32	8.40
Cheese, per kgm.	2.50	210.
Sauerkraut, per kgm.	.25	6.
Kerosene, per liter	.26	20.
Coal, per 100 kgms.	4.16	300.
Mutton, per kgm.	1.92	95.
Horse-meat, per kgm.	1.05	85.

A worker whose weekly 36 kronen in 1914 were equivalent to 120 liters of milk, can buy only 81 liters with his 850 kronen today. His 1914 wage would buy 18½ kilograms of meat, but his present wage will buy only 7.08 kilograms—at the officially fixed prices, and the *Schleichhandel* (illegal speculative trade) prices are naturally higher still. Despite the dazzling increase in his wages, the worker's real wage has sunk abysmally.

The result of this economic destitution is the death and wasting away of the children of the working class, a decline in the birth-rate, a terrific extension of tuberculosis, digestive diseases, afflictions of the circulatory organs, dropsy, softening of the bones—visible evidences of the physical decay of the people. The death-rate per thousand inhabitants of Vienna for four months of 1913 was 13.05; in four months of 1919 it was 26.3, 100 per cent greater; twice as many people are dying as in 1913. In the first half of 1918, 7,480 Viennese died of tuberculosis; in the same period in 1919, 7,716; one in every four Viennese dies of tuberculosis. And while death seizes twice as many people as before, fewer children are born. In 1911, 41,080 children were born in Vienna; in 1919, only 19,070. And to what misery are they born! Of 57,000 Vienna children medically examined, only 4,637 were in a satisfactory condition of health. The children's clinic reports the following average children's weights:

	Boys		Girls	
	1918	Before the war	1918	Before the war
	(pounds)		(pounds)	
One year old	14.5	22.4	14.3	21.3
Three years old	23.3	32.3	22.2	31.2
Six years old	34.5	45.1	33.6	41.8
Nine years old	46.6	60.5	44.0	55.0
Twelve years old	58.3	77.0	61.6	70.4
Fifteen years old	65.6	99.0		

These figures tell a terrible tale. Boys six years old nearly ten pounds underweight, boys twelve years old thirty-three pounds below par! They fall helpless victims to tuberculosis.

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The increase of tuberculosis between the ages of 11 and 20 is 95 per cent, between the ages of 15 and 20, 160 per cent.

Thus a people wastes and dies, and unless quickly helped, moves inevitably to complete destruction. Austria cannot exist without revision of the fatal Treaty of St. Germain and annexation to Germany.

Labor and Unemployment in England

ON December 29, at a special conference of the British Labor Party, the following recommendations regarding unemployment were adopted.

1. This Conference, realizing that the growing volume of unemployment and under-employment is due in a large measure to the interruption in world-trading following on the war and the defective peace treaties, in addition to the folly of British and Allied policy in relation to the Soviet Government of Russia, condemns the British Government for the unwarrantable delay in securing peace and opening trade relationships with the Russian Government.

2. The Conference further condemns the Coalition Government for failing to make provision for the prevention of unemployment and for the proper treatment of unemployed persons; it calls attention to the fact that in February, 1920, the Labor Party in Parliament introduced its Bill for the Prevention of Unemployment, containing provisions for the maintenance and training of unemployed persons, which the Government refused to accept.

3. The Conference declares that the existing unemployment can only be substantially alleviated by such a free flow of commodities as before the war made this country one of the principal manufacturing and distributing countries of the world.

It calls upon the Government to take effective steps to secure the restoration of the economic life of Central Europe by a scheme for providing adequate credits; to remove immediately all blockading influences; to discontinue the destruction of normal trading facilities by means of indefensible legal quibbles.

4. The Conference is further of opinion that the Government and the local authorities should make the fullest use of their legislative and administrative powers to facilitate the provision of immediate work under satisfactory conditions for unemployed men and women; and as an emergency measure to meet the serious situation that now exists the Conference demands the immediate adoption of the following proposals by the Government:

a. That a person for whom no work is available at the employment exchanges, or through his or her trade union, shall be entitled to maintenance, or

b. That the rate of maintenance (including other benefits) shall be at least 40s. per week for each householder, and 25s. per week for each single man or woman, with additional allowances for dependents.

5. The Conference further urges the imperative need for dealing with the permanent causes and conditions of unemployment, and warns the Government that both the unemployed and the employed workers are not prepared to remain the victims of the pernicious economic system which exposes them and their families to hardship and demoralization as a consequence of unemployment.

The Berne Manifesto

THE manifesto adopted by the International Socialist Conference, held at Berne on December 4 to 7, appeared in the *Labor Leader* (Manchester) for December 16.

The World War has opened the decisive struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for political power. Its immediate result is the domination of the world by British and American capitalism, leaving on the Continent the predominance of French militarism and in the Far East that of Japanese imperialism. In the first stage victory has strengthened the power of capitalism and sharpened the oppression of the working class in the victorious countries. At the same time there has issued from it a system of world domination directed primarily against the proletarian revolution in Eastern and Central Europe, and against the aspiration for liberty of oppressed nationalities and subject races.

The victors have tried to break down by blockade and by intervention the Russian Soviet Republic, the advance guard of the social revolution. They are profiting by the economic dependence of the vanquished countries of Central Europe to hinder the development of the proletarian revolution in these countries. They are using the sanguinary counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary, Poland, and Rumania as mercenaries not only against Russia, but also against the proletariat of Central Europe. They are helping in Germany, Austria, in Czecho-Slovakia the counter-revolutionary movements. They menace the revolutionary movement in Italy by threat of blockade and make the small states instruments of their will by the weapons of economic reprisals and financial pressure. They suppress the aspirations for liberty of the peoples of the Near and Middle East in a sea of blood.

But this system of capitalist domination is destroying the economic necessities of life of the working class even in victorious countries. The blockade against Russia and the economic destruction of Central Europe caused by the iniquitous peace treaties are excluding the greatest part of Europe from the world market. Thus, not only are the peoples in Eastern and Central Europe thrown into intolerable want, thereby providing an opportunity for the bourgeoisie of inspiring counter-revolutionary and nationalist movements, but Western European and American industry is deprived of its greatest markets, and great unemployment is appearing among the masses of the people.

The workers of the Western countries are, in consequence, threatened by the danger that wages will be reduced when workers in the vanquished countries are working at lower rates, and the standard of life of the workers of Western countries will be reduced for many years.

In view of these facts it is necessary to concentrate all the forces of the workers and to put in the forefront the final socialist demands. The workers must oppose their own world policy to that of capitalism.

It is the part of such a policy to defend with all its might Soviet Russia against the attacks of the capitalistic Western Powers, to oppose strenuously the plans and counter-revolutionary intrigues of the French imperialists, and to break the chains that European imperialism has fastened on the revolutionary movements in Eastern and Central Europe, to help the oppressed peoples of the subject nations and in the colonies to recover their liberty, and thus to unite all the revolutionary forces of the world in their fight against imperialism. This task can only be accomplished by the world proletariat on the principles of socialism enforced by the inflexible determination to use all its forces to that end in a powerful international organization.

The world war has destroyed the Second International, which, when the war came, was unable to prevent its continuance because parties within it capitulated before capitalistic imperialism. Instead of uniting all their strength they took the side of one or the other of the capitalist groups and made it impossible for themselves to work for the ending of the war.

The Conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal demonstrated that even early during the war it was possible to formulate a policy guided by socialist principles. It also showed that the Second International, which was incapable of such a policy, failed to fulfil its historic mission.

The result of the failure of the parties within the International has been that the masses of workers within the dif-

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ferent countries were kept apart by hatred and suspicion. The organization which is now called the Second International is but a union of those parties which form the purely reformist wing of the revolutionary working class movement, and they misunderstand the theoretical and historical necessities of the revoluti nary class struggle when they restrict the working class to democratic methods without regard to the special phases of development in various countries. In practice they abandon the revolutionary struggle for the capture of power by the proletariat when they enter into coalition with bourgeois parties on merely reformist programs. The same parties have, during the war, destroyed the mutual confidence of the workers of the various nationalities in one another, and the so-called Second International is therefore not able to organize the living forces of the class-conscious proletariat, and is only an obstacle to the unity of the working class.

The Communist International described itself as the Third International, thus arrogating to itself the privilege of continuing the historical work of the First and the Second Internationals, and successfully bringing it to completion. But in practice the International of Moscow has hitherto been simply a union of Communist Parties; and it cannot become anything else so long as it maintains the resolutions of the second conference.

The Communist International wishes to transfer the methods of the proletarian and the present revolution in Russia to all other countries without any restriction, and prescribes these methods for all other working-class parties. It wishes to abolish the autonomy of the different Socialist Parties which are alone capable of judging the actual circumstances, and of determining the means to be used for the purpose of the working class, without regard to the diverse conditions under which the class struggle has to be waged and the circumstances prevailing in the different countries. It imposes a form of organization determined by the special conditions in Russia upon the Socialist Parties of all other countries; and deliberately works to shatter all Socialist Parties which do not unresistingly submit to its dictation. It seeks to make the trade unions in each country subservient to the Communist Party in that country, and creates division in the ranks of the Trade Union International, which today is the only united organization of the workers.

It puts in the place of the working-class movement in each country, organized in accord with the special circumstances prevailing, a sectarian movement, based upon preconceived ideas, identical for all countries and elaborated by a central organization. By this means it renders itself entirely incapable of uniting the whole proletariat under its standard.

The socialist world policy of the workers and the realization of socialism presuppose the existence of an international fighting organization capable of action. Such an organization can only be created by the ceaseless struggle of the proletariat of each country in opposition to the capitalist class rule. In this struggle the methods and tactics are determined by the degree of ripeness of the revolutionary situation. The working class, during the time when it is fighting as a political minority within the bourgeois states, can neither limit its methods of action to those of the purely traditional trade union and parliamentary struggle nor transfer in a stereotyped manner to other countries the methods used by those masses of workers and peasants taking part in an acute revolutionary struggle.

As soon as the proletariat has conquered political power it will adopt the methods of dictatorship wherever the bourgeoisie sabotages or resists the proletarian state power.

Dictatorship—that is the application of all the means of state power of the proletariat when it becomes a ruling class, to counter the resistance which the bourgeoisie may offer to the realization of socialism—is a transitional phase in the evolution from the capitalist class state to the socialist commonwealth, and the form which it will take depends upon the economic, social, and political conditions of each particular country.

If the workers conquer power by the methods of democracy, then, in the event of resistance of the bourgeoisie, such democratic state power would be compelled to break that resistance. If, however, in the period of the decisive struggle for power democracy is destroyed through the intensity of class antagonism. the workers must assume a dictatorship of proletarian class organization, organized according to the conditions of the particular country, i. e., workers' or soldiers' or peasants' councils, trade unions, factory councils, local administrative bodies, or other assemblies peculiar to each nation.

Just as the bourgeois revolutions in the various countries were carried through in different forms, so will the proletarian revolutions in the separate countries be carried under various forms, because the stage of capitalist development is not the same in all countries, and the final structure of the proletarian democracy must be adapted to the special conditions in the different countries. On the basis of these common views, inspired by the spirit of revolutionary socialism, representatives of the following parties have met at Berne, from December 5 to 7, for a preliminary conference: Swiss Socialist Party, Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, Independent Socialist Party of Germany, German Social Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia, Austrian Social Democratic Party, French Socialist Party, Lettish Social Democratic Party, American Socialist Party, and Russian Social Democratic Party.

In view of (1) the world reaction, which is continually becoming more acute, and of the rapid reconstruction after the World War of the international fighting front of the bourgeoisie; (2) the need for international action by the proletariat to defend the revolutionary achievements already attained and the systematic promotion of the working-class development; and (3) the serious division of the working-class forces in all countries, which renders an effective struggle impossible, those who have taken part in this preliminary conference recommend the calling of an International Socialist Conference on February 22, 1921, at Vienna, to discuss the following—provisional—agenda:

1. Constitution.
2. Imperialism and the social revolution.
3. Methods and organization of the class struggle.
4. The international struggle against the counter-revolution.

The parties represented at this conference will be intrusted with the task of remaining in close touch with one another as a solid organization, or uniting further all the forces of the international proletariat against international capitalism and imperialism, and finally of forming a true international of the class-conscious proletariat.

All Socialist Parties which have left the Second International and stand on the ground of the principles in this appeal will be admitted to the conference.

To prepare the way for the conference a committee, consisting of one comrade to be named by the parties of each of the following countries, viz., Austria, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Switzerland, will be appointed. This committee will submit to the conference drafts of proposals covering the subjects mentioned in the provisional agenda.

Those intending to take part must announce their intention before February 1, 1921, to Friedrich Adler, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

Berne, December 7, 1920

In Coming Issues of
The International Relations Section

The Japanese Labor Law
Russia's Policy Toward Concessionnaires
The Proposed Land Reform Act in Mexico
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Report of the British Labor Commission to Ireland

THE most important document which has emerged from the struggle for freedom in Ireland is the Report of the Commission of the British Labor Party, printed below. The thoroughness of its methods, its impartiality, and its desire for truth, make the Commission's findings invaluable as a revelation of the situation to be found in Ireland today, and startling as an indictment of the British Government's Irish policy.

The situation in Ireland today is nothing short of a tragedy, whether from the point of view of the Irish people or from the standpoint of British honor and prestige. British labor is vitally interested in the Irish situation from two points of view. It is concerned with the problem of Irish government and the bestowal upon the people of Ireland of the freedom which they passionately desire. It is concerned also with the degradation which the British people are now suffering in consequence of the policy of repression and coercion which has been carried out in its name. On the general problem of the settlement of the political problem in Ireland, the Labor Party has declared its policy. The manifesto embodying this policy is reprinted as an appendix to this report. Labor representatives in the House of Commons have protested against the policy of physical force applied to Ireland, as the Labor Party regards recourse to methods of violence as a confession of bankruptcy of statesmanship.

On October 25 Mr. Arthur Henderson moved in the House of Commons: "That this House regrets the present state of lawlessness in Ireland and the lack of discipline in the armed forces of the Crown, resulting in the death or injury of innocent citizens and the destruction of property; and is of opinion that an independent investigation should at once be instituted into the causes, nature, and extent of reprisals on the part of those whose duty is the maintenance of law and order."

This proposed vote of censure condemned the action of the British Government and its agents in Ireland, and asked for an independent inquiry. The request for an inquiry was refused. The situation in Ireland did not improve. Indeed it grew worse, and the Labor Party, therefore, decided to set up a commission under its own auspices to inquire into the whole question of reprisals and violence in Ireland.

The Personnel of the Commission

The Parliamentary Labor Party appointed three of its members, Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. J. Lawson, M.P., and Mr. W. Lunn, M.P., to serve on the Commission, whilst the Executive Committee of the Labor Party appointed its chairman (Mr. A. G. Cameron), its vice-chairman (Mr. F. W. Jowett), and Mr. J. Bromley to represent the Executive of the party. At the first meeting of the Commission Mr. Henderson was unanimously elected as chairman. In view of the importance of the delegation's work, and opportunities which it was thought might arise to assist the establishment of peace in Ireland, the Right Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., was persuaded to join the Commission. Brigadier-General C. B. Thomson became military adviser, and Captain C. W. Kendall, legal adviser. Mr. W. W. Henderson accompanied the Commission as press secretary, and Mr. Arthur Greenwood was appointed secretary of the Commission. Mr. Tom Johnson, secretary of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, was attached to the Commission, and the services of Mr. E. Rooney as stenographer were placed at the disposal of the Commission by the Irish Transport Workers' Union.

Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, gave every possible assistance to the Commission. As a result of his instructions we were supplied with permits to enable us to travel by motor anywhere we wished to go and at any hour. We were everywhere received with the utmost courtesy by responsible officials, both civil and military. We wish, therefore, to place on record our sense of obligation to the Chief Secretary, to the officials of Dublin Castle, and to the responsible military and police officers with whom we came into contact. We do so the more earnestly because the main burden of our report is a denunciation of the Government's policy.

The Diary of the Commission

The Commission left for Dublin on Tuesday, November 30. That evening it met the Secretary of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. On the following day a long discussion took place between representatives of the Irish Labor Party and the Commission on labor policy regarding Ireland, the possibilities of securing a suspension of acts of violence, and the detailed work of the Commission. Both the Commission and the Irish Labor representatives were in perfect accord, and the latter proffered every possible help to the delegates. They placed at our disposal the services of Mr. Tom Johnson, whose assistance was invaluable. During the time we were in Ireland, Mr. Johnson acted as a liaison officer between the Commission and Irish labor, both in Dublin and elsewhere. The attitude of the Irish labor movement toward the promotion of peace in Ireland is dealt with later in this report, and need not therefore be referred to here.

The Commission made Dublin its headquarters for several days. During this time, evidence was taken at the Shelbourne Hotel, and visits were paid to Balbriggan, Skerries, Croke Park, and other places in Dublin itself. At Balbriggan—the scene of a reprisal on a large scale—the delegates visited the hosiery factory which was destroyed by fire, and the many houses and other premises which were burned in the attack upon the town on September 20. The evidence of eye-witnesses was taken in the Town Hall.

At Skerries, witnesses were examined with regard to the shooting of individuals there. At Croke Park, the Commission reconstructed the scene of Sunday, November 21, and took evidence on the spot. In Dublin visits were paid to the Painters' Trade Union Club and the Women's Trade Union Club, both of which premises had been raided, and some of our members investigated incidents which had occurred in private houses.

In the meantime, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Adamson interviewed Mr. Arthur Griffiths in Mountjoy Prison, and visited the Archbishop of Dublin. Mr. Henderson also traveled to Armagh and interviewed Cardinal Logue.

On Saturday, December 4, the Commission visited Dublin Castle and had an interview with the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The chief military, police, and civil officers of Dublin Castle were present at the interview.

On Sunday, December 5, Mr. Adamson returned to Scotland to fulfil an important engagement in Fifeshire, and on the following morning Mr. Henderson left for London. Mr. A. G. Cameron acted as chairman of the Commission during the

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remainder of his stay in Ireland. The evening prior to the departure of Mr. Henderson, the Commission met members of the Executive of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress for the purpose of reviewing the Irish situation from the point of view of the establishment of peace.

On Monday morning, December 6, the Commission traveled by train to Cork. We met the Lord Mayor, the senior Sinn Fein member for the city, and several members of the city council. The Lord Mayor kindly placed a room in the City Hall (since totally destroyed by fire) at our disposal, and offered to supply the Commission with all the information collected by the city council concerning incidents in Cork.

We investigated several unfortunate occurrences which took place during our stay in the city, and a large number of witnesses were examined with regard to reprisals carried out during the past few months. We paid visits to buildings which had been burned, and to houses and shops where furniture, fittings, and other property had been destroyed. Members of the Commission traveled by motor car from Cork to Bandon to see the hosiery works and other property which had suffered destruction, and to take the evidence of witnesses.

On Wednesday, December 8, we left Cork for Killarney. Owing to the suspension of the passenger service on the railways, we traveled by motor car through the southwest of Ireland. On Thursday we reached Tralee, which place provided us with abundant evidence of reprisals and terrorism. On the way to Tralee we investigated the circumstances of the burning of the cooperative creamery at Ballymacelligott and the so-called "Battle of Tralee" which is said to have taken place there.

From Tralee members of the Commission motored out to see the Abbeydorney Cooperative Creamery and take evidence concerning its destruction by fire, whilst other members journeyed to Ardfert to investigate the shooting of a girl there. In this case, however, the Commission was not able to obtain sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that the girl was shot by a member of the Crown forces.

The following morning, Friday, December 10, we set out for Limerick, passing through Listowel, where we observed the shop signs from which Irish names had been obliterated by order of members of the Crown forces. On the way we called at Foynes, where a cooperative society's store and a workingmen's club had been burned down, and at Shanagolden, where the cooperative creamery had also been destroyed by fire and damage done to other buildings, and where an old man had been shot.

Arriving at Limerick we proceeded to take evidence, and on the following morning (Saturday) certain members of the Commission met the Mayor and members of the town council at the Town Hall, where further evidence was taken. Other members of the Commission traveled to Hospital and Tipperary, at both of which places evidence was taken.

The two sections of the Commission reassembled later in the day at Limerick Junction and entrained for Dublin. The motor cars then returned to Cork. At Dillon's Cross the chauffeurs were held up, searched, and imprisoned until Sunday afternoon. On their release they found that certain motor car accessories, clothing, and personal effects had disappeared.

On our return to Dublin we completed our investigation into the Croke Park case, and took evidence in other cases. Members of the Commission visited Dublin Castle and interviewed officials there.

On Sunday, December 12, we received news of the burning of many buildings in Cork, and at the request of the Commission, two members visited the city on the following day.

On Tuesday, December 14, Messrs. Cameron, Jowett, and Bromley left for London to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, the remainder of the Commission leaving Dublin the following day.

It will be seen that our inquiries were confined to Dublin and neighborhood and to the southwest of Ireland, which is the most disturbed area of the country. We were unable, without prolonging the inquiry, to visit districts in which incidents have taken place that merit close investigation. We believe, however, that the evidence we have been able to obtain is more than sufficient to justify the strongest condemnation of the policy of the British Government.

The work of the Commission falls into two parts—the inquiry into reprisals and the efforts which were made toward a cessation of acts of violence as a necessary preliminary to negotiations for a permanent settlement of the problem of Irish government. The first part of the report is concerned with reprisals, and the second section to the larger problem of peace. Before embarking upon a discussion of reprisals, however, we feel it to be necessary to explain the method of inquiry which we pursued.

Method of Inquiry

Before our departure to Ireland we had received numerous letters calling attention to "reprisals" which were alleged to have taken place. We had, of course, in our minds the various occurrences in Ireland which had been the subject of questions or debates in Parliament. During the whole of our stay in Ireland cases for inquiry were constantly being brought to our notice. By every post there came suggestions or appeals for investigation into "reprisals" of which the writers had knowledge. Telephone messages and telegrams called attention to acts of violence committed in various places in Ireland by the armed forces of the Crown. Personal callers came to bring "reprisals" to our notice.

It was obvious from the commencement of our investigation that to attempt to inquire into all the allegations of "reprisals" which in one way or another were forced upon our attention was to attempt the impossible. Some method of selection of cases for investigation was essential. We therefore decided to examine various types of cases. We could, of course, have done this within easy reach of Dublin; but we were unanimous in the view that our inquiry would not be complete unless we visited the more disturbed areas in Ireland. Our representative cases are drawn, therefore, from Dublin and from the southwest of Ireland, though we have received sworn statements relating to "reprisals" in other parts of the country.

The cases dealt with in this report fall into two groups—outrages committed upon the police and other armed servants of the Crown and upon those associated with the Crown forces, and reprisals committed by the Crown forces. The latter fall under six main heads:

(1) General terrorism and provocative behavior.
(2) Arson.
(3) The wilful destruction of property, otherwise than by fire.
(4) Looting.
(5) Cruelty to persons.
(6) Shooting.

Often enough the various types of violence are to be found combined in the same occurrences.

It was made clear to us at the outset that we could not accumulate evidence merely by relying upon witnesses coming forward voluntarily. We may say, however, that at every place at which we stayed people did present themselves to give evidence. It was, of course, necessary to visit many places to make observations on the spot and to take evidence from witnesses on the scene of the occurrences. But, in addition, we had on many occasions to go to the homes of people who could of their own knowledge assist us in our investigations.

In some cases we found it difficult or impossible to obtain sufficient reliable evidence, either through the absence of important witnesses, who were perhaps "on the run," or through the fear of possible consequences if facts were disclosed. The atmosphere of terrorism which prevails in many parts of Ireland renders it extremely difficult to gather information. Those who were eye-witnesses of incidents deserving of inquiry have been threatened with violence, and even death, if they disclose what they saw. We have information of one case where a firm of

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solicitors declined to swear an affidavit through fear of the consequences which might ensue.

The number of places to be visited and witnesses to be examined led us at times to divide the Commission into groups. This had distinct advantage when it was necessary to visit private houses and small shops, and it also enabled more cases to be examined than would otherwise have been possible.

We should have been glad to receive the fullest possible evidence from official sources. Whilst responsible officers, civil and military, have been willing to discuss with members of the Commission cases investigated by us, we were not supplied with copies of the official reports bearing on such cases. These documents are confidential, and we were informed that in consequence we could not be provided with copies of them. The Chief Secretary offered to arrange for the police or military concerned in cases we wished to examine to appear before us, but as in very many cases the men concerned have been removed to other parts of the country since the occurrences on which we desired their statements took place, time did not permit us to take evidence from them.

The Armed Forces in Ireland

There is a state of war in Ireland, and what are called "outrages" and "reprisals" are but incidents in a bitter campaign. On the one hand, there are the armed forces of the Crown; on the other, the Irish Republican Army. It will be well before describing the reprisals we have investigated to provide a background by explaining the composition, character, and temper of the opposing forces in Ireland. Only in this way is it possible to bring individual incidents into relation with the general situation.

The Government forces in Ireland consist of:

(a) The Military Garrison.
(b) The Royal Irish Constabulary.
(c) The Auxiliary Division.

In regard to (a), some fifty thousand soldiers are at present quartered in Ireland; they are in the main young and inexperienced, few of them have had the training given to a recruit in prewar days before joining a service unit. The majority of the junior officers are equally ignorant of their professional duties; many in Infantry Battalions have not passed through the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Under the conditions existing in Ireland up to and during the visit of the Commission, these lads were continually being called upon to support the police against the civil population, a task which has always been distasteful to regular soldiers and should be confided only to highly disciplined troops. As a result, training has been neglected, discipline has become lax, youths at the most receptive period of their lives have been brutalized and demoralized, and all this has been done at enormous cost to the taxpayer.

Until the proclamation of martial law, the military forces of the Crown had a purely passive role in Ireland. They were widely scattered and undertook no independent action; they formed a sort of second line to the R. I. C. and the Auxiliary Division. Under martial law, the military authorities should, in theory, assume supreme command, and the roles of the soldiers and police would be reversed. Although this would be a marked improvement on the existing state of affairs, since some order and coherence would be imparted to the activities of the forces of the Crown, unless martial law is applied to the whole of Ireland (and this it is estimated would require two hundred thousand troops) it will cause deep resentment in the areas singled out for special treatment and do more harm than good. Undoubtedly, martial law, applied without distinction or discrimination, offers the most humane method of coercion. The cost of this policy, however, must be reckoned not only in terms of money but by the effect produced on the British army as a whole. If a force, exceeding in size the expeditionary force sent to France in 1914, is to be employed for purposes of repression, it can only be raised by taking all the men from the garrison towns in England and Scotland and exposing them to the demoralizing influences inseparable from civil war.

Under heading (b) are included the so-called "Black and Tans." Originally, the R. I. C. was recruited from men of Irish birth, but during the recent troubles resignations from the Irish Constabulary were so numerous that it became necessary to enrol Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen to keep the force up to strength. Most of these new recruits were ex-soldiers and, at first, retained their khaki while wearing constabulary caps and belts, which are of so dark a green as to appear almost black. Hence the expression "Black and Tans," a name whose point and humor have made it a catchword, although the khaki uniforms have now nearly disappeared.

Whilst we wish to avoid making any general accusation against a body of men with so distinguished a record as the R. I. C., we feel compelled to express the opinion, based on our personal observation, that a by no means negligible proportion of the force, as at present constituted, are men of intemperate habits and utterly unsuited to their duties. It may be that not more than 1 per cent of the R. I. C. are men of really bad character. Nevertheless, this small fraction has discredited the whole force as an instrument of policy by making it an object of general dread and detestation. Evidence in support of this statement was found in every district visited, though in some a distinction was made between members of the old constabulary and the Black and Tans.

The Auxiliary Division of the R. I. C. is recruited exclusively from ex-officers. Perhaps for this reason a license is permitted among the "cadets" (the rank and file of the division) which makes their conduct depend more on the personality of local commanders than on instructions from headquarters. In Tralee, the Auxiliaries enjoyed a reputation for good behavior and moderation among the inhabitants, but in other districts which we visited they inspired terror as the authors of reprisals whose brutality and destructive effects were only equaled by the skill and forethought with which they had been planned.

In the Auxiliary Division the men who matter are those possessed of ability and education, who are inflamed by political passion and who, so far as could be seen during the visit of the Commission, were being given a free hand in the south and west of Ireland. Wherever reprisals have been scientifically carried out so as to cause the maximum economic and industrial loss to an Irish countryside or city, they have almost invariably been the work of detachments of cadets. Several cases investigated by the Commission revealed the fact that these detachments had worked independently of, and brooked no interference from, the other forces of the Crown. In view of the recent conduct, after the orders published in the press forbidding all reprisals, they do not seem to recognize even the authority of Dublin Castle, and the question suggests itself—under whom, then, do they serve? Some obvious deductions can be made from much that is uncertain and confused. This division is essentially undemocratic in its composition. It is a class weapon which is being forged in Ireland and could be used in England. Further, the method of its employment at the present juncture gives color to the suspicion that it is the instrument of those reactionary forces which dictate the Irish policy of the British Government. Hitherto, reprisals by Auxiliaries have been hushed up as far as possible, and efforts have been made to impute the blame for their misdeeds to innocent civilians. Evidently this force enjoys special and powerful protection. Now that martial law has been proclaimed in certain parts of Ireland, it will be interesting to see how far the detachments of cadets in those regions will come under military control.

The Irish Republican Army

The forces of the Crown in Ireland are opposed by the Republican Volunteers. To speak of the forces of Sinn Fein as an army is misleading. The Irish Republican Army may consist of 216 battalions, whose strengths vary from 100 to 1,000 men, but it is an army only in name. This remark implies no disrespect for the I. R. A., which, in point of fact, is a far more

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formidable organization than any army raised from a population of at most three million could ever be. The I. R. A. is formidable because it is intangible; if it functioned as an army it would have to concentrate to fight, and then it could be defeated without difficulty. But, in its present form, it lives and fights dispersed; it is everywhere all the time and nowhere at any given moment. Without the sympathy and support of the vast majority of the population it could not exist. This support is probably more general and effective today than it has been at any previous period. Irish Volunteers are fed and harbored by people who, three years ago, were certainly not Sinn Feiners, and some of whom were Unionists. So great has been the provocation by the forces of the Crown that 80 per cent of Irish men and women now regard the shooting of policemen and throwing bombs at lorries with the same philosophic resignation that Mr. Lloyd George displays towards arson, pillage, and the shooting of civilians at sight in the presence of their wives and children. Under such conditions it is practically impossible to bring the Irish Republican Army to bay. It might be driven underground by the use of overwhelming military force, but it will spring up again when that force has been withdrawn. Executions and torture are not deterrents; they have, indeed, the opposite effect. It is reported on good authority that the day Kevin Barry was hanged several hundred undergraduates of Dublin University enrolled themselves as Volunteers. The destruction of creameries and manufactories only serves to stimulate recruiting by increasing the number of desperate men. The policy of reprisals by destruction, if carried to its ultimate conclusion, will ruin Ireland outside Ulster, but will not defeat the Volunteers.

Attacks Upon Members of the Crown Forces

Members of the Royal Irish Constabulary have been shot, both on and off duty. These cases are regarded by Sinn Feiners (whether they approve of them or not) as "reprisals" rather than "outrages." They were, it is said, the outcome of the British Government's policy of coercion and repression manifested in the imprisonment of people without trial, the prohibition of public meetings, and similar acts. The shooting of members of the Constabulary and the subsequent resignations which took place were largely responsible for the "dilution" of the old R. I. C. by newcomers of a less desirable type, and for the enrolment of the Auxiliary Division of the R. I. C.; though, on the other hand, it is clear that the resort by a section of the Sinn Fein movement to a policy of physical force was itself but the outcome of a coercive policy on the part of the British Government.

Since the introduction into Ireland of reinforcements of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the embodiment of the Auxiliary Division, attacks by members of the Irish Republican Army upon the forces of the Crown have increased in number, whilst the scale of operations has been enlarged. There have been several ambushes in which many members of the Crown forces have been killed or wounded. These incidents have been fully reported in the British press. But regrettable as these operations are, they appear to us less reprehensible than the murder of British officers and civilians in their beds on "bloody Sunday," November 21. Sinn Feiners have, as we shall show presently, been shot in cold blood; but "two wrongs do not make a right," and by whomsoever it is carried out and whoever is the victim, the murder of individuals, unable to defend themselves, is murder, whether committed by members of the British Crown forces or by Irish Volunteers.

Victimization of People Associated with the R. I. C.

The Commission has obtained statements relating to acts of victimization committed upon persons related to, or associated with, members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. We have not had an opportunity of personally investigating any of these cases. Those to which our attention has been drawn are for the most part cases of what may be called petty victimization, though they are undoubtedly calculated to embitter the R. I. C. There are a number of cases where women employed as R. I. C. barrack servants or women on friendly terms with the Constabulary have received threatening letters. In some cases women have had their hair cut off. There are instances also of the wives or families of members of the R. I. C. being turned out of their homes, which have been burned. Some official police reports concerning cases of victimization are printed in the Appendix.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, the terrorization of persons in some way connected with the R. I. C. has not been carried out on a scale comparable with the terrorization of the mass of the Irish people. Nevertheless the policy of victimization is most regrettable and has tended to embitter the relations between the Constabulary and the Irish people.

The Government and Reprisals

We shall, in this Report, deal in some detail with a number of the recent tragic occurrences in Ireland. The Government has repeatedly condoned reprisals, and the Chief Secretary has defended the action of the armed forces of the Crown. On numerous occasions in the House of Commons he has given a point-blank denial to statements made by members of the House on the basis of information received from non-official Irish sources. He has made assertions, a few of which he has ultimately been driven, most grudgingly, to withdraw. The attitude of the Government, judged by its spokesmen, is that many of the unhappy events in Ireland of which the British public has heard during the past few months were either figments of the imagination or incidents in which the acts of the Crown forces were justifiable. The results of our investigations will show how much truth there is in this point of view.

General Terrorism and Provocative Behavior

In every part of Ireland that we visited we were impressed by the atmosphere of terrorism which prevailed. This is due to some extent to uncertainty; people are afraid that their houses might be burned; they fear that they might be arrested or even dragged from their beds and shot.

But terrorism is accentuated by other less direct methods. Lorries of armed men with their rifles "at the ready" are frequent sights in the towns and even in the country districts. We are aware that the Irish Secretary would have us believe that these "brave men" might be shot by "cowardly assassins" in the streets, but we cannot believe that for men to carry rifles "at the ready" is a means of protection against the possibility of being shot from a window or at a distance. This display of arms assists to spread the feeling of terror. The sight of "tin hats," drawn bayonets, and revolvers, and here and there of sandbags, or machine guns, or powerful searchlights, is calculated to terrorize the civilian population.

But the insolent and provocative conduct of certain sections of the Crown forces is even more likely to inspire fear or to incite reprisals. In at least one town to our own knowledge, the R. I. C. often carry Black and Tan flags on their motor lorries, glorying in the title which has spread fear throughout the land. Sometimes below it will be found a small Sinn Fein flag, or the flag of the Irish Republic will be trailed at the tail of the lorry in the dust or mire of the road. We would submit that no disciplined force would so deliberately encourage bitterness of spirit or inflame feelings of retaliation in this way.

We have witnessed with feelings of shame the insolent swagger of individual Black and Tans in the streets of Irish towns. We have heard raucous voices, to the accompaniment of the rumble of a police lorry, bawling the R. I. C. song:

"We are the boys of the R. I. C.
We are as happy as happy can be."

Incidents such as these may not seem to be important, but who can doubt that in Ireland today they intensify the hatred of the British Government and its ways?

It is unfortunate also that the civilian population should wit-

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ness—as many have done—members of the Crown forces under the influence of drink. A member of the Commission stated to his colleagues that he had seen in the street an Auxiliary cadet, revolver in hand, distinctly the worse for liquor.

At a railway station the members of the Commission saw a number of Black and Tans (they wore the R. I. C. uniform and were certainly not, to judge by their general appearance and accent, members of the old R. I. C.) invade the refreshment room. We use the word "invade" advisedly. Their behavior was unmannerly, to say the very least. They shouted out the R. I. C. song and, in general, made the room intolerable for the travelers who were inside when the Black and Tans appeared. Some of the uniformed men were worse for drink, and one Black and Tan lurched along the platform of the station using his rifle, presumably loaded, as a walking stick. Again it may be said that these incidents are but small affairs. But such conduct must arouse feelings of resentment or fear, or both, amongst the civilian population.

In some places, members of the Crown forces have compelled shopkeepers to obliterate the Irish signs over their doors and windows. This we know has happened at Killarney, Tralee, and Listowel. Such petty tyranny creates ill feeling.

One species of terrorism to which reference must be made is the publication in the newspapers or by means of typewritten circulars of notices threatening punishment to the general public if certain things are done or not done. These notices are not signed by any responsible officer, but bear a signature such as "Black and Tans" or "Secretary of Death or Victory League." Notices of this kind have been set up by printers at the point of the revolver. Some of these notices are reprinted in the Appendix.

Perhaps the most potent method of spreading terror is that which is frequently adopted during raids and searches. It is said that these must be conducted quickly as the representatives of the police or military taking part in them are exposed to considerable risk. But this explanation does not seem to us to excuse the forcing of doors and breaking of windows, the flinging of papers about the rooms in which they are found, and the reckless destruction of household or office effects. Much less does it excuse the attitude only too often adopted toward persons. A peremptory order to "put 'em up" is, until it becomes a frequent occurrence, an unpleasant ordeal, but on night raids the procedure may be much more trying.

As an illustration we may quote the case of a local trade union official. We do not for one moment believe that the Government can prove anything against him—unless to be a trade union official is a crime—and we are convinced of his veracity. Some months ago he was arrested and imprisoned for five days without any reason being assigned. More recently, he was visited by armed men after he had retired to bed. His wife and children were told to leave the bedroom. The man, whose only garment was his shirt, was told to put up his hands and, with the end of a rifle barrel placed to his bare chest, he was interrogated for a space of twenty-five minutes on matters of which he had no knowledge. These are the methods of the Inquisition. Intimidation of this kind but terrifies or embitters innocent citizens and particularly women and children who have in some cases witnessed it.

After curfew in Dublin we heard on several nights the firing of shots. As civilians out after 10 p. m. run the risk of being shot at sight, and as the police and military utilize the curfew hours for raiding purposes, it is a fair assumption that shots during the night are generally fired by them. We have been told that often this firing is not intended for purposes of destruction, in which case we can only conclude that its purpose is terrorism.

We have no desire to overstate the facts; but the atmosphere of terrorism which has been created and the provocative behavior of armed servants of the Crown, quite apart from specific reprisals, are sufficient in themselves to arouse in our hearts feelings of the deepest horror and shame.

The Burning of Property

A large number of buildings in Ireland have been destroyed by fire, but the Government has admitted only a very few cases of arson committed by members of the Crown forces. Generally, as, for example, in the recent great fire at Cork, the Chief Secretary denies the existence of evidence showing that the fires were caused by forces which theoretically are under his control. There is, however, ample evidence in our judgment to show that buildings have been deliberately burned and in many cases utterly destroyed by servants of the Crown. The premises which have been destroyed include creameries, factories, and other large business premises, as well as shops, private houses, and farms.

We give in the Appendix to the Report a statement showing particulars of forty-two attacks made upon cooperative concerns, mainly creameries. In the large majority of cases the buildings were wholly or partially destroyed by fire. The economic aspect of this destruction we shall deal with later in this Report. For the moment we are concerned more especially with the question of the responsibility for these reprisals.

(A) Tubbercurry and Achonry Creameries

The Chief Secretary for Ireland declared in the House of Commons on October 20 that he had "never seen a tittle of evidence to prove that the servants of the Crown have destroyed these creameries." Over a month later, however (on November 25), he admitted that in the case of the Tubbercurry and Achonry creameries "the burning was committed by members of the police force on October 1, in an outburst of passion evoked by the brutal murder of District Inspector Brady and the wounding of another of their comrades on the evening of the previous day."

In the face of this admission, it is not unjust to infer that other creameries have also been burned by the Crown forces. We do not need, however, to rely upon inference, for we have a volume of direct evidence that many creameries, besides those already referred to, have suffered destruction or damage at the hands of servants of the Crown.

In the cases of Tubbercurry and Achonry, we do not know of the existence of any proof that members of the two societies were concerned in the death of District Inspector Brady. It is, however, clear from the Chief Secretary's statement that the destruction of the two creameries was a reprisal, and that, either with or without authority, members of the R. I. C. took vengeance upon the farmers of the district.

(B) Ballymote Creamery

We reproduce in this volume a copy of a telegram, dated November 3, from the District Inspector of the R. I. C. at Sligo, instructing the Head Constable of Ballaghadreen to "inform all available Auxiliary force to proceed at once to Ballymote, where a sergeant has been shot." There appears to us to be no reason why Auxiliaries should be sent to a place where a police sergeant had been shot, unless for purposes of revenge. On November 3, the Ballymote cooperative creamery was destroyed by fire. The society has no fewer than 980 members. We have not personally investigated this case, but we cannot refrain from remarking upon the coincidence of the date of the telegram with the date of the burning of Ballymote creamery.

(C) Abbeydorney Creamery

The circumstances of the destruction by fire of the Abbeydorney creamery were the subject of investigation by the Commission. There can, in our opinion, be no doubt that the buildings were fired by uniformed men, who used petrol for the purpose of setting the creamery buildings alight more speedily and effectively. The store, which contained a good deal of inflammable material, was completely gutted. The manager was ill-used. After the departure of the incendiaries, 300 pounds of butter and two 80-pound cheeses had disappeared.

About a fortnight after the attack on the creamery at Abbeydorney two policemen were fatally shot. Later in the day a

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body of R. I. C. men inflicted damage to property in the town. Since then the houses of the manager and the foreman employed at the creamery have been burned.

(D) Shanagolden Creamery

The Commission visited the village of Shanagolden. On August 24 an attempt was made to fire the cooperative creamery there. We were not able to ascertain the reason for this first attack on the building. We were told that the attempt to burn the creamery was made by Black and Tans from the neighboring village of Foynes. The cheese shed was actually set alight, but the flames were extinguished. Next day the local Volunteers arrested a Black and Tan and a policeman in connection with the occurrence of the previous evening and marched them up and down the village street without their boots.

As a reprisal, it is assumed, two lorries of Black and Tans arrived at the village in the evening. They shot dead an old man of seventy-five years. At the inquest a verdict of wilful murder against the police was returned. They burned a house, and attempted to burn a house and shop, but the occupier's wife succeeded in saving it.

The Black and Tans were seen to sprinkle petrol inside the creamery. A five-gallon tin of petrol was left behind by the party. Immediately after they left the building there was a loud explosion and the creamery burst into flames. A cardboard box, bearing the name and official address of a sergeant of the R. I. C., was subsequently found in the shrubbery. It is assumed locally (though there is no proof) that the box had contained explosives.

The county court judge awarded £12,000 damages. Cheese to the value of £4,000, which had been made for export to Great Britain, was destroyed. Prior to its destruction the creamery had been receiving from two hundred farmers in the district about 6,500 gallons of milk per day.

On the night following the burning of the creamery, four young men of the village were arrested by Black and Tans and roughly handled. One of them was stripped naked, and, it is said (though we have no direct evidence) left five miles away from the village. On the same evening an attempt was made to burn the local library.

The destruction of buildings in a district other than creameries at the time the latter are destroyed and other acts of violence are not confined to Shanagolden. At Ballymacelligott men were shot, and houses and other buildings and hay ricks set on fire, as well as the creamery. A more detailed account of the incidents at Ballymacelligott is given in a later section of this Report.

(E) Balbriggan Hosiery Works

Creameries are by no means the only business premises which have been fired by members of the Crown forces. The Government has admitted that the fires at Balbriggan were caused by servants of the Crown. There are two hosiery works at Balbriggan. On the night of September 20 one of them (belonging to an entirely English company) was destroyed by fire. The company employed 109 people in the factory and at least 120 out-workers. The other hosiery works would probably have met a similar fate had not the R. I. C. been dissuaded by a local resident.

(F) Bandon Hosiery Works

Whilst we were in Cork some members of the Commission visited Bandon and there saw the remains of the factory of the Bandon Hosiery Company, whose premises were burned down on October 24. Two nights previous an attempt was made to fire the factory, but only slight damage was done. The company employs about seventy persons. The factory and stock were completely destroyed at the second attempt, and the damage caused was estimated at £50,000. At the military inquiry fourteen witnesses deposed that the fire was the work of the military and it is understood that the authorities admit this to be the case. The Balbriggan factory was destroyed, with other property in the town, as a reprisal for the death of a police officer; but we have not been able to discover any similar motive for the attack on the Bandon works, though it is suggested as a possible explanation that some of the employees were Sinn Feiners.

(G) Printing Works at Tralee

Members of the Commission saw the ruins of a printing works in Tralee. The damage done by the Crown forces is estimated at over £50,000. At the works two newspapers were printed and thirty persons were employed. The destruction of the premises is ascribed, though there is of course no positive proof of this, to the fact that the editor of one of the papers had criticized the action of the authorities.

(H) Destruction of Shops

The examples given above—all of them the subject of inquiry by the Commission—will give some indication of the damage done to industrial concerns. Large business premises of other kinds and shops have been burned down in many places. We need do no more than refer at this stage to the wholesale destruction by fire of the premises of many important business firms in the center of Cork on the night of December 12. Before this disaster occurred we had visited other shops in Cork which had suffered a similar fate. We refer to incendiarism in the city of Cork later in the Report.

At Bandon inquiry was made into the burning of a large haberdashery, stationery, and boot stores. Men in uniform were seen to throw petrol on the shop windows and doors, and bombs through the windows. These exploded and flames broke out. The upper part of the building was used as a dwelling and several people were in bed when the fire occurred. They succeeded in escaping, the girls clad only in their nightdresses. The house and shop were entirely destroyed.

(I) Destruction of Farms and Private Houses

Other cases of arson in which shops and stores suffered serious damage or entire destruction could be given. But our purpose is to give examples which we investigated. The Commission made inquiries into the burning of a farm, the tenant of which was an aged and bed-ridden woman of seventy-five years. Members of the Commission found the house and farm buildings in ruins, with the exception of a small fowl-house. This shelter, without windows and lighted only when the door is open, was occupied by the two daughters of the old lady, and a boy of about eight years, their nephew. They are living now under deplorable conditions. The tenant of the farm has been removed to the workhouse. Two policemen and a number of men in civilian dress came to the farm and asked for a son of the tenant. He was not at home. The occupants of the house were told to "clear out." The old lady, who was ill, was taken outside, and the two sisters, partly dressed and without boots, together with the small boy in his nightshirt, left the house. The men poured petrol on the beds and furniture, on the outhouses and pigsty, and even on the pigs and poultry. The buildings were burned to the ground, the fowls were all burned to death, but the pigs were rescued. The family spent the night in the fields. On the morning after the fire, two full tins of petrol and some empty tins were found in the farmyard.

In Balbriggan many small cottages have been destroyed by the Crown forces. Many citizens of Cork have suffered the loss of their homes. The countryside has not escaped, for in our inquiries we came across hamlets where cottages here and there had been burned, usually by the Black and Tans or other Crown forces, as part of a night's program. In how many small country towns there are to be seen the charred remains of homes we cannot say, but it is beyond doubt that arson has been committed on a large scale.

Burning is not confined to business premises, shops, farms, and private houses. Public and quasi-public buildings have also suffered. It would appear that places where people gather together are special objects of destruction, as we have already seen in the case of creameries. The effect of destroying public

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buildings is clearly to render almost impracticable the administration of public affairs, and to impose serious obstacles to the fulfilment by local bodies of their public responsibilities.

Before the final destruction of the Cork City Hall, several attempts had been made to fire the municipal buildings which had suffered partial damage before it was razed to the ground.

(J) Tralee County Hall

The Tralee County Hall, together with a theater attached to it, was burned out during the early hours of the morning of November 1. The hall contained the county council offices, the urban district council offices, and the offices of the harbor board. Uniformed men were responsible for the fire. An officer said to a person who had been roused out of bed by the fire, "Bad work in Kerry tonight. Three of the Crown forces have been killed, but Tralee will pay for it." During the fire there was shooting from the police barracks near by and the soldiers on the scene of the conflagration had to take cover. It is reported, though we have no direct evidence of the truth of the statement, that a military officer was wounded by shooting from the barracks. After the fire, the military assisted people to take back the furniture which had been removed from their houses in case the fire spread.

(K) Incendiarism as a Policy

In the foregoing statements regarding the destruction of property by fire, we have confined our attention to cases we investigated. In every instance, except those of the Achonry and Tubbercurry creameries, evidence was taken on the spot. We have received information of many cases into which we were not able to inquire. But we consider the material which we have collected to be sufficient for our purpose.

The forces of the Crown in Ireland have been guilty of arson. As we have pointed out, in a few instances the Government has admitted as much, and we have no doubt that, if the Chief Secretary were pressed to declare the facts in other cases, he would be driven, however reluctantly, to make similar admissions. Incendiarism is part of the policy of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries. It is, we believe, one of their methods of terrorism and revenge.

In face of the admissions of the Government as to the origin of the fires at Balbriggan, Achonry, and Tubbercurry, the general public may well suspect the truth of the denials of the British Government as to the complicity of their servants in other cases, even if direct evidence were not available. Such evidence, however, there is, and the legitimate surmises of those who mistrust the Government's statements are proved to be well founded.

It has been represented to us, however, that the presence of uniformed men at a fire is no proof that Crown forces are responsible for the outbreak. It has been suggested that Sinn Feiners have obtained police and military uniforms, and that the fires might be the work of Republicans bent upon creating hatred of the British Government. We cannot believe that there is much substance in the argument. It is to be remembered that in many places the curfew is in operation. During the hours when most of the burnings have taken place the police and military were in possession of the streets, and any fires which broke out must soon have become known to them, and they would have been able, had they chosen, to drive off the incendiaries. We have not received evidence of any street battles which might reasonably be expected to occur in these circumstances. Moreover, if it were true that arson was generally the work of Sinn Feiners, it is reasonable to suppose that the patrols of Crown forces in the streets at night would not have allowed the incendiaries to complete the work of destruction. They would, we believe, have taken all possible steps to subdue outbreaks of fire caused by men to whom they are opposed. In point of fact, however, there is overwhelming evidence to show that in the case of many fires, not only have the Crown forces taken no steps to suppress the outbreaks, but that, on the contrary, they have actually hampered those who desired to extinguish the fires. In a later section of this Report, dealing with occurrences in the city of Cork, we refer to the cutting of fire hose by persons who clearly did not desire that the fires should be subdued. We also received evidence from the responsible fire brigade officials in another town of the cutting of hose by men who, it would seem, were members of the Crown forces.

Many of the fires which have occurred both in town and country districts have been those of houses occupied by known Sinn Feiners. Sinn Fein halls have been destroyed by fire. Public buildings in places where there is a Sinn Fein majority, or at least an anti-British majority, on the local authority have met the same fate. To suggest that such burnings are the result of deliberate Sinn Fein activity seems to us unreasonable and, indeed, stupid, more especially as in many of these cases people have been shot or ill-treated. We cannot conceive even the most extreme and violent Sinn Feiners operating a policy which would result in destroying property of value to their own supporters, and subjecting their friends to physical hurt.

As regards Cork, where there has been arson on a large scale, we understand that the Government take the view that the work might be that of a loosely organized body of people acting without authority. There is in Cork a body calling itself the Anti-Sinn Fein Society. We have no authentic information as to the composition of this intangible and nebulous organization, but it is suggested that it is composed of discontents in the town, many of them ex-soldiers, and also of individual members of the R. I. C. and the Auxiliary Division. We do not know how far this is the case. But if the facts are as stated, the burning of the buildings by men, some of whom are servants of the Crown, argues the existence of an indiscipline for which the Government must be held responsible. This argument, we may observe, is inconsistent with the view that in Cork the fires are the work of Sinn Feiners.

Even if only a tithe of the fires which have admittedly occurred in many parts of Ireland during the past few months were caused by Government agents, the case against the forces of the Crown and the Government would, in our judgment, be amply proved.

Destruction Other than by Burning

Fires are not the only method of destruction employed by the British forces in Ireland. We have investigated cases in which valuables of all kinds, including furniture and other household effects and documents, have been wantonly destroyed. During our stay in Cork certain houses and shops were entered by Auxiliaries, and shop fittings, mirrors, furniture, pictures, ornaments, and crockery were smashed wantonly and thoroughly. Members of the Commission visited some of these places, and with their own eyes saw the havoc which had been wrought. We leave aside for the moment the looting which took place. Even if nothing had been taken away, the destruction in the shops and in the houses of people who had evidently taken great pride in their homes is in itself sufficient to merit the strongest possible condemnation. It is said that the excuse which is offered for this wicked destruction is that people in these premises jeered at the Auxiliaries who were engaged in holding up and searching people in the street. According to the Government, the reason was that the police had been fired on in the vicinity.

To our astonishment, we find that Mr. Denis Henry's reply to a question by Mr. T. P. O'Connor in the House of Commons on December 8 stated that "the allegations of looting and of wanton destruction of property in this case, and in the other cases referred to, are absolutely unfounded." We cannot doubt what we have seen with our own eyes, and we cannot do otherwise than assert emphatically that the reports on which Mr. Denis Henry based his answer are untrue.

During our stay in Dublin, members of the Commission visited the head office of the Irish National Painters' and Decorators' Union which was raided on November 24. The secretary was arrested and the office searched for correspondence. In making the search the military succeeded in wrecking many of the office

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fitments. The three rooms of the office had been left undisturbed since the date of the raid, and we were, therefore, able to see the disorder which prevailed. Books, papers, and correspondence were thrown in heaps about the floors of the three rooms; tables were overturned, pictures smashed, and cabinets pulled to pieces. A register of members was torn up, as well as other papers and correspondence. Even if the necessity of searching for documents be admitted, it appears to us unreasonable and vindictive to act in the manner in which the military clearly did act at the Painters' and Decorators' office.

Looting

It is within the knowledge of the British Government that there have been cases of looting. We understand that certain members of the Crown forces have been punished for this offense, but looting is carried on more extensively than the Government would be prepared to admit. Members of the Commission heard from an Auxiliary of cases where allegations of theft had been made against the Crown forces, and where subsequently the articles assumed to have been stolen had been found. No doubt there are cases of this kind. On the other hand, the evidence we have received goes to show that a considerable amount of looting has actually taken place. There are obviously opportunities for theft where raids are being made on premises. We took evidence from a witness who stated that over £300 worth of goods had been taken from his shop. Shortly before the raid on his premises, which, it may be pointed out, was undertaken with a view to arresting a person in his employ, the dealer in question and his assistants had taken stock. The morning following the raid, the assistants again took careful stock, allowing for the sales since the previous stocktaking, and goods to the value named above were found to have disappeared. Sir Hamar Greenwood has stated that there is no truth whatever in the assertion that goods were taken from the shop; presumably, the Chief Secretary's information is obtained from members of the Crown forces who took part in the raid, or their superior officers. The choice is between accepting the word of the accuser or the word of the accused. We have formed the opinion with regard to this case that the allegations made against the servants of the Crown are true, as we cannot believe that the witness and his assistants have deliberately invented a story of looting.

Witnesses who saw the burning of creameries assert that butter and cheese were in some cases taken away by attacking parties. In some instances we know that the produce of the creameries was destroyed or damaged by fire. It is also beyond doubt that in others the Crown forces looted the stores of the creameries before they were fired.

We have referred above to the destruction of property in houses and shops in Cork. On this occasion articles were taken from the shops, though Mr. Denis Henry, in the House of Commons on December 8, denied this. In many cases which came under our personal notice witnesses affirmed that during raids articles were taken from their houses. We cannot believe that all the many statements we have heard to this effect, coming as they do from different parts of Ireland, are devoid of truth. On the contrary, we are convinced that there has been a very large number of thefts from houses and shops. We have also heard of cases where Black and Tans have entered shops, obtained goods, and departed without paying for them.

During our stay in Cork, we received reports that whilst we were in the city people searched in the streets had been robbed of money and other articles. We were not able to investigate all the cases of which we had information. The cases in which we did inquire, however, were, in our opinion, conclusive. We may quote the evidence taken in one case, where we had corroborative information:

"At between 9 and 9:15 p. m. on December 6, 1920, I had just left my friend —— at his door in —— Street, Cork. I was walking toward my home when I was stopped by some Auxiliary Police. They ordered me to take my hands out of my pockets and hold them up. I did so and one of the Auxiliaries searched me and took everything from my pockets except my watch. The searcher handed the contents of my pockets to the men behind him. They were then handed back to me in one packet and I was told to retrace my steps and go home by another route or I would be shot. When I arrived home I examined my papers and wallet, and found that £48 in £1 notes belonging to my firm was missing; also £35 in four £5 notes, one £10 note, and five £1 notes, private money, together with £16 10s. 4d. in an envelope, being my salary for one month, had disappeared. I have not reported the matter to the police as I fear the consequences."

Mr. Denis Henry, on the occasion above referred to, stated that he had communicated with the police authorities who had informed him that "the Auxiliaries conducted a general search of people in the streets of Cork on Monday and Tuesday (December 6 and 7), but that the allegation of theft of money, or any other property, is entirely untrue." Unfortunately for the Government and its agents, there were too many well-substantiated cases of theft in the streets of Cork for this blank denial to be accepted. Frankly, we do not believe that a number of people would at the same moment suddenly fabricate stories about thefts. We are not surprised that the Auxiliaries would not admit to the police that they were guilty of robbing persons whom they searched.

There are so many undoubted cases of looting and theft that the Commission must add these crimes to those of burning and destruction with which we have already dealt. We were filled with shame that, in the name of law and order, servants of the British Government should be guilty of besmirching in the eyes of Ireland the honesty of the British people.

Physical Violence and Brutality

Many cases of beating and other forms of brutality came to our notice, some of which we were able to investigate. Whilst we were in Cork we heard on the second day of our visit that during the afternoon Auxiliaries with whips of the kind used by drivers of jaunting cars had struck pedestrians with them. We did not actually see the occurrence, but we took evidence from a town councilor who had witnessed the incident. The Auxiliaries appear to have driven people before them, lashing the while with the whips. Most of the people who were struck did not protest, probably through fear of worse consequences, but one man who did was called "an Irish swine"—an epithet commonly applied by many members of the Crown forces to the people of Ireland. The event naturally created deep resentment in the city.

In some places there has been a good deal of flogging of people. We had before us in one town a witness with a record of fourteen years' service in an Irish regiment. He served through the late war, and was a company sergeant major. Whilst in the street he was seized by five police and searched. The statement he made may be given in his own words:

"They then accused me of teaching Sinn Feiners the use of machine guns. This I at once denied and said, 'You should arrest me and put me on trial if you make such a serious charge against me.' One of the police then called me a —— bastard, and used other very vile language to me. I was compelled at rifle-point to kneel in the mud, and on threat of death made to take an oath that I was not a Sinn Feiner. A framed photo of De Valera was then shown me by one of the policemen, and I was ordered to spit on it three times or be shot. I was struck and kicked. I was then ordered to get up and clear off. I did so but was followed by about twelve policemen, who again set on me and very severely beat me with rifles, fists, and feet. I was knocked to the ground and kicked whilst there. These men were not English; they all spoke with an Irish accent, and one who spoke with a strong brogue served me worst. He said after a time, 'Let him go; he has had enough,' but when the others desisted and I rose, he felled me again. I was eventually allowed to go, but two of them continued to follow me, kicking and beating me. I believed they desired to get me away from the other people and shoot me. Four or five soldiers, members

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of the regiment, came up and prevented the police doing me any further injury. When handing back my papers, they said, 'Here, take your rubbish, and we have taken no quids from you, so don't write and tell Lloyd George that we have done so.' They said they were going to shoot every ex-soldier in ——."

At the time we saw this man he bore the bruises caused by the brutal treatment of the police.

The Black and Tans, at any rate in some places, appear to have taken to themselves the power to administer oaths. The following statement was given to the Commission in evidence by a lad of eighteen who had been searched and a post-card photograph of the late Lord Mayor of Cork found in his possession:

"The Black and Tan who had searched me said I had a photo of MacSwiney. The man in charge told me to go down on my knees. I did not go down. He struck me across the face with his clenched fist. Then he told me again to go down on my knees. I did not go down, and three or four of the Black and Tans who were around pushed me down on my knees. The leader then took a bound book about the size of a novel from under his arm. He gave it to me and told me to hold it above my head and repeat the following words: 'I swear that I will have nothing to do with Sinn Fein in future.' I took no notice. Then the leader of the Black and Tans put the barrel of his rifle to my forehead and told me to repeat the oath. All this time I had said nothing. I repeated the oath. The leader then said, 'Say "God bless the R. I. C."' I said nothing, and the leader struck me with his fist on the face, and said, 'Repeat "God bless the R. I. C." three times.' I said, 'God bless the R. I. C.' Then he took a large framed photo of De Valera from under his arm and told me to spit in De Valera's face three times. I took no notice. The leader again struck me on the face with his first. I made an attempt to do what I was told, but didn't actually do it, and one of the Black and Tans said, 'They are very dry.' The leader again struck me on the face. Then they all went away."

For refinement of cruelty, it would be difficult to find a worse case than that of a witness we examined on the treatment he had received at the hands of men who clearly were members of the Crown forces. This man was taken from his home by masked men with revolvers. He was asked questions which, he says, he was unable to answer. He was kicked and thumped, and later received blows on the head from revolvers, and kicked again whilst on the ground. He was asked whether he preferred to be shot or drowned. He could not swim. He replied that he would rather be shot. The masked men decided that he should be drowned, and he was thrown into the river. Fortunately, the tide was low and he was able to keep his head above water. Two shots were fired after him. Then one of the men said, "He's gone where MacSwiney's gone," and left the witness in the belief that he was drowned.

We give these cases as illustrations of occurrences which are not infrequent, and for which we can find no justification whatever. Even if the individuals ill-used were notorious and prominent Sinn Feiners and "gunmen," we should regard such inhuman treatment as a disgrace to those directly and indirectly responsible for it.

Unfortunately, in their work of hunting down people, the agents of the British Government often act in a way which is terrifying to women. We took evidence in a case where a party of five or six men dressed in the uniform of the R. I. C. (one of them drunk) called at a house after one o'clock in the morning in search of a man of over seventy years of age. His wife and a girl were the only persons in the house. There was a violent knocking at the door and someone called out, "Hurry up or the door will be broken in." The woman opened the door as quickly as possible, and she was asked whether her husband was at home. Her reply was to the effect that he was not. The evidence of the witness continued: "One of the men then asked if there was any correspondence between myself and my husband. I answered 'No,' whereupon I was jeered at and asked, 'Is it likely that a husband and wife do not correspond?' A man of about thirty years of age, dressed in civilian clothes with his hair brushed back and his face smeared with some grayish-looking stuff, was with the party. He was more offensive and violent than any of the uniformed policemen. He brandished a revolver in our faces and abused and scolded the girl, asking her why she stayed in my house, and finally shouted at me that 'If it is two years we will do for him.' I noticed that this particular man had an English accent of the North of Ireland. After this, all the men went out; then one returned and came upstairs. A window was suddenly broken. I feared shooting, and told the girl to lie down. We both lay down until we heard the motor lorries going off amidst much laughter. After a bit, when all was quiet I looked out and found that two thatched buildings belonging to our farm were on fire, also some hay. There was a cow and a calf in one of the buildings, but I managed to let them out. I found two paraffin lamps overturned in the house, also a candle near the burned buildings. The next day I found that a large coal shovel, two pairs of gloves, a flash lamp, and a fat hen—but a very old and, I hope, tough one—had disappeared. It is a very trying experience for a woman of my age. For two hours, from 1.15 to 3.15 a.m., I was in fear for my life, to say nothing of my home. I live in constant dread of another attack."

Some members of the Commission visited the home of a widow whose house has been twice raided. On the first occasion, about a dozen Auxiliaries rushed into the house and asked for her son. Some of them terrified a delicate daughter whom they covered with revolvers and asked where two of her brothers were. As the Auxiliaries were unable to obtain any information they went away. On the following night at 11.30 p.m., Auxiliaries again came to the house. They broke in the panel of the door and shouted for the son for whom they had inquired on the previous day. The widow replied that the boys had been home to tea but she had not seen them since. One of the party went upstairs and sat on the bed. He pointed a revolver at the daughter who was ill in bed and demanded to know the whereabouts of her brothers, but she could not tell him. Downstairs the men roughly handled the old widow, saying that if she did not tell them where her boys were they would burn down the house. They placed a tin of petrol on the floor. The woman then told the Auxiliaries that her son —— was in prison, but she did not know where —— and —— were. The widow told one of our members who visited her that she prayed for mercy. The men left the house swearing that there was "no bloody God."

This rough and brutal treatment of women is by no means the worst that is to be said against men in the service of the British Crown. It is, however, extremely difficult to obtain direct evidence of incidents affecting females, for the women of Ireland are reticent on such subjects. The following case which came under our notice is, we fear, but an isolated instance. A young woman who was sleeping alone in premises which were raided by the Crown forces was compelled to get out of bed and her nightdress was ripped open from top to bottom.

The cases of physical violence and brutal treatment which we have cited are, like the examples of other crimes which we have given, but examples. We could refer to more cases, but we believe that the reader of this Report will agree with us that they suffice to show the infamous deeds which have been done in the name of law and order.

Shooting

The people of Ireland have become accustomed to the display of arms. Men who are being searched or interrogated are frequently covered by rifles or revolvers. The Crown forces are "gunmen" ever ready to brandish their weapons in order to inspire fear or elicit information. Unfortunately, their arms have been used for a much deadlier purpose.

One of the most important cases of shooting on a large scale was the indiscriminate firing which took place at the Croke Park Football Ground, Dublin. This incident is dealt with more

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fully elsewhere in the Report. We may point out here, however, that there were far more casualties at Croke Park than at Peterloo. The killed and injured—numbering seventy-three persons in all—included both women and boys, who it is safe to say were perfectly innocent victims. If the police succeeded in shooting a "gunman," they did so by a pure accident. The brutal murder of British officers on the same day appears to have overshadowed in the minds of the British public the equally callous murder of innocent people at Croke Park. We believe the second crime to be every whit as bad as the first.

We received evidence of a considerable number of cases of shooting—far more indeed than we can refer to here. We give, however, one or two examples. The following evidence was given by a father relating to the shooting of his son:

"I was awakened by a loud knocking at our house door. I opened it and saw a group of men standing outside. One of them asked me where my son was, and I answered, 'In the British Army.' The man then asked me where my other son was, but before I could answer the boy himself shouted from his bedroom, 'All right, father, I am here.' Three men in the uniform of the R. I. C. then rushed in past me to my son's room; they told him to get dressed and hurry up. He put on a pair of trousers and his coat. The policemen then informed us that they only wished to ask our son a few questions and would not keep him long, after which they took him away. There was a man in a trench coat and soft hat with the party and, from the way in which he spoke to the others, I concluded he was an officer.

"After some three hours, as my son did not return, I went to look for him, and eventually on looking over a wall saw his body lying in a field a few yards away. I carried him back to the cottage. He was quite dead and had several wounds in his body, one in the left wrist, and one at the back of his head. So far as I am aware he was not a member of the I. R. A."

Another case which we investigated was that of a man who was taken from his home by men in khaki. Later during the night his dead body was brought back to the house and the doctor who came with it said "they have shot the wrong man." At the inquest, which was held subsequently, a verdict of wilful murder against the military was returned.

An eye-witness told us that he saw two policemen walk up to a man at the corner of a street. One policeman struck him with his rifle and the other deliberately shot him. The man died shortly afterwards in hospital. It is worth noting that the medical men at the hospital who attended the wounded man did not give evidence at the military inquiry.

Another case of shooting in cold blood relates to the attempted murder of a labor man. His wife told us that "at about 2.30 a.m. a party of military called at our house. My husband let them in. They asked him his name. The party searched the house and then left. The officers were polite, but the men were rough." Less than a month later "at about 12.30 a.m. I heard a lorry stopping outside the cottage and then somebody banging at the outer door until it was smashed in. I opened the inner door and saw two men in the uniform of the R. I. C. My husband was standing just behind me and the men in the doorway asked him his name. He told them; they then asked him if he was a Sinn Feiner. He answered that he was a labor man and councilor, whereupon both men shot at him with revolvers. He fell and I helped him to a chair and one of the policemen fired in another shot after me. My husband, beyond answering the questions put to him, never said a word to the policemen; he did not interfere with them in any way whatever. My husband sympathized with Sinn Fein, but was not a member of the I. R. A."

In these and other similar cases into which we have inquired, members of the Crown forces have deliberately shot men in cold blood. These crimes occurring singly and often not reported in the British press are as revolting as the murder of British officers in their beds and deserve equally thorough denunciation. Even if the Irish victims were "gunmen," we do not think that this in any way lessens the guilt of those who committed the murders.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland has referred on several occasions to men having been shot whilst trying to escape. We have information which goes to show that prisoners alleged to have been fired upon and killed in an attempt to escape have been shot in cold blood. Where men are killed the production of evidence from eye-witnesses is impossible, though it is sufficient to know that in at least one case an examination of the dead body showed that bullets had entered in front and not in the back. In another case where two men were shot in circumstances which made an attempt to escape the maddest folly, one survived. An Irish lawyer has informed us that he has evidence from the survivor that there was no effort made to escape, but that the two men were deliberately shot.

We have heard of cases, though we have not taken direct evidence on the matter, where men have been shot in mistake for some other person. Such tragedies are the inevitable result of the policy of shooting men without making adequate inquiries as to their identity, and throw light upon the methods of terrorism which are now in operation.

There is a large number of men in Ireland who are "on the run." We met many such men. Some of them were armed Republicans and active supporters of the Sinn Fein movement. A proportion of them were members of the Irish Volunteers. Others "on the run" are men who have little connection with the organized Sinn Fein movement. Amongst these are active trade unionists. Those who are not extreme Sinn Feiners and are yet "on the run" are victims of police or military stupidity.

Men who are "on the run" do not necessarily disappear entirely. For example, in one important town, all but five of the town councilors are men to whom the term could be applied. Yet they do not, unless special danger threatens, absent themselves from the meetings of the council. Naturally, however, it is difficult for men in this predicament to play their part fully in public affairs. Many men "on the run" walk abroad openly in the day time, fairly secure in the knowledge that they will not be recognized by the Black and Tans or Auxiliaries, as the case may be. The Crown forces, however, possess their addresses, and the innumerable raids which have taken place during curfew hours have been made, very often, in order to find men who are "on the run." The only hope of securing them is to find them in their homes. The result is that men in whom the agents of the British Government are keenly interested, in order to avoid being "looked up," as the phrase is, keep away from home. In some cases men have had to leave the districts in which they lived altogether. There are, of course, varying degrees of being "on the run," but almost all of those who are so described fear that if they once fall into the hands of the Black and Tans or Auxiliaries they will be shot where they stand. Many men are "on the run," not because of anything which might be proved against them, but because experience of men, whom perhaps they knew, being shot at sight, has led them to the view that once arrested they would have no opportunity of disproving any charges. Probably the attitude of such men is unwarranted, but it is a sad commentary on the way law and order is maintained in Ireland that men should be driven to a belief that, if arrested, they would be murdered without trial.

A General View of Reprisals

In the foregoing section of this Report we have given examples of cases of reprisals and evidence of different kinds coming under the notice of the Commission. We have not endeavored to search out merely the very worst cases. The majority of incidents selected for mention are typical of many similar occurrences. A number of the cases with which we have dealt do not fall under a single heading, and, therefore, in order to give an idea of the various elements of terrorism entering into particular incidents or practiced in particular localities, we propose to refer to three incidents—those at Balbriggan, Croke

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Park, and Ballymacelligott—and to the conditions prevailing in the town of Tralee and the city of Cork.

Cork

The atmosphere of Cork prior to the latest acts of incendiarism was beyond description. During the time we were in the city terrorism was at its height. Cork has perhaps suffered longer from the brutal domination of ill-disciplined armed forces than any other town in Ireland, probably because it has been regarded as one of the most important Sinn Fein centers. Within the past twelve months there have been three Lord Mayors of Cork. Lord Mayor MacCurtain was murdered in the presence of his wife. Mr. Terence MacSwiney died in prison. His present successor is "on the run" and carrying out his duties as best he can.

The proper administration of the city of Cork by the local authority has been rendered well nigh impossible. Many members of the Council have been marked down for attention by the Crown forces and are able to attend the various meetings of committees only at considerable risk. Attempts have been made to set on fire the City Hall and several raids have been made on the municipal offices.

The whole of the civilian population has been in varying degrees under the terror. During the month of November alone we were informed by the Cork City Council that over 200 curfew arrests had been made, four Sinn Fein clubs burned to the ground, twelve large business premises destroyed by fire, in addition to attempts made to fire others including the City Hall; seven men shot dead, a dozen men dangerously wounded, fifteen trains held up, four publicly placarded threats to the citizens of Cork issued, and over 500 houses of private citizens forcibly entered and searched. This by no means completes the list of incidents which occurred in Cork in the space of a single month. There were, in addition, attempted arrests which were unsuccessful, much indiscriminate shooting, and many minor outrages upon the people of Cork.

During the time that we were in the city there was provocative behavior on the part of Auxiliaries, a large number of searches of individuals, a number of cases of theft from persons searched, the wanton destruction of property, and the incident of whipping pedestrians in the street. It is not surprising in these circumstances that the economic life of Cork has suffered considerably. As an illustration of the effect upon trade of the prevailing unsettlement and terrorism, we may refer to the information which we received that the receipts of certain traders in the city had during the past three months fallen by 60 to 75 per cent. This economic stagnation arises directly out of the state of terror which exists in Cork. There is, of course, unemployment in the city. People are indisposed to make purchases other than those which are absolutely essential, and few people from the surrounding districts care to come into the city of Cork to shop.

The Commission was impressed by the sense of impending disaster which overhung the city of Cork during the time it was staying there. This uncertainty was ended by the tragic occurrences of Saturday, December 12, when the Regent Street of Cork was destroyed by incendiaries. By this date the Commission had returned to Dublin, but it decided to send two members of the Commission to Cork to make immediate investigations. The newspaper reports of the Cork fires conveyed but a faint impression of the terrible havoc wrought in the city. The most valuable premises in the town were utterly destroyed, large business houses and massively fronted shops were reduced to piles of smouldering debris, charred woodwork, and twisted iron girders.

Shortly after 9 p.m. on Saturday, December 12, Auxiliary Police and Black and Tans appeared in large numbers in the streets of the city, and at the revolver point (before actual firing took place) drove people to their homes earlier than the curfew regulations required. This was regarded by the citizens as ominous and increased the nervousness which had been caused by the ambush at Dillon's Cross and the apprehensions of reprisals that were naturally entertained by the people. The streets were soon entirely deserted and the work of destruction begun.

The first of the burnings took place at Grant's extensive premises in Patrick Street, and during the night new fires broke out. At 4 a.m. the City Hall was fired and the efforts of the firemen failed to save it. It was completely gutted. But a few days previously the Commission had taken evidence in the City Hall of the unfortunate occurrences in Cork during the past few months. The City Library adjacent to the Hall was also destroyed.

The members of the Commission made special inquiries regarding the origin and cause of the fires and numerous witnesses were interviewed. They were unanimous in stating that the fires were caused by the Crown forces. Some persons had witnessed the entry of members of the forces into buildings which shortly afterwards were on fire. In some cases explosions occurred. Others, again, saw them engaged in looting. The smashing of glass and doors was heard as men forced their way into business premises for the purpose of looting.

Firemen of the local brigade received assistance from the military engaged on patrol duty during curfew hours. The old R. I. C. men (as distinct from Black and Tans) were engaged mainly in conveying information to the brigade of further outbreaks of fire occurring from time to time during the night. Two members of the brigade were slightly wounded by bullets whilst carrying out their duties.

We would point out that the fires occurred after the Crown forces had driven the people indoors, and that during the greater part of the time that outbreaks of fire took place the curfew regulations were in operation. Eye-witnesses observing the fires from adjacent premises positively state that the incendiaries were agents of the British Government. We are of opinion that the incendiarism in Cork on December 12 was not a reprisal for the ambush which took place on the same date at Dillon's Cross. The fires appear to have been an organized attempt to destroy the most valuable premises in the city, and we do not think that the arrangements could have been carried out if they had been hastily made after the unfortunate occurrence at Dillon's Cross.

On receiving the report of the delegates who had visited Cork the Commission dispatched the following telegram on December 15 to Mr. Henderson:

"Statements made by Chief Secretary in House of Commons yesterday concerning the burning of Cork are grossly inaccurate. Parliamentary members of Labor Commission who visited Cork yesterday convinced that fires were work of Crown forces. Suggestion that fire spread from Patrick Street across the river to City Hall, a distance several hundred yards, cannot be entertained by anyone knowing topography of Cork. We stand by our statements regarding the fires in Cork, and can, if safety of witnesses guaranteed, produce reliable evidence on subject. We therefore demand independent inquiry into recent incident in Cork. If Government refuse inquiry British public will form its own conclusions."

The Government is undertaking a military inquiry, presumably on lines similar to those usually held, except that the report is to be published. We shall await the report with interest, but we doubt whether the court of inquiry will have at its disposal the non-official information which is essential to a true finding of the cause of the fires.

We may here refer to the misfortune which befell the chauffeurs who had driven the Commission through the southwest of Ireland after they were dispatched home to Cork from Limerick Junction Station. The four chauffeurs with their empty cars happened to arrive at Dillon's Cross about the time of the ambush. They were arrested by Auxiliaries and placed against a wall. The Auxiliary Police refuse to listen to their explanation, or to allow them to show their special permits. They were told that they were about to be shot. An officer, however, then

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came up and said that they were not to be shot until they had been searched in the barracks. They were ordered into their cars and told to drive to the barracks, three members of the force with revolvers accompanying each driver. They were then taken to the guard room and searched, after which they were put into a small cell with seven other persons and detained until 2 p.m. on the following day. On returning to their cars they found that a number of motor accessories and personal belongings, amounting in value to nearly £40, were missing. So far as we know at present the missing property has not yet been returned.

Ballymacelligott and the "Battle of Tralee"

The Commission made a very close investigation into the circumstances surrounding the burning of Ballymacelligott creamery and the shooting which took place. In the first instance it will be well to give the statement made by the Government on the Ballymacelligott case. The Chief Secretary in the House of Commons on November 24, said:

"Let me come to the case of the creamery destroyed at Ballymacelligott, County Kerry. Here, happily, we can check the evidence printed in a paper that gives a certain qualified support to the Right Honorable gentleman. That evidence can be checked by officers of the Auxiliary Division who were in the attack, and it happened, also, that a very gallant officer from my own office was present, in addition to two journalists and two photographers. Let us give the story. It gives an idea of the facts of these creamery cases. . . . At Ballymacelligott in Kerry, a number of policemen were fired at on the morning of November 12 from the creamery. They attacked the creamery, wounded one or two men, and killed one or two men. On the afternoon of the same day, along comes this party of journalists and photographers, escorted by Auxiliary Division men, to the total number of sixteen. As they came near the creamery, which was within twenty yards of the road, I am told dozens of rifle shots rang out. There was an ambush. The trench part of the ambuscade is still there. These men got out of their cars, attacked the attackers, killed several, wounded several, and captured several others. They were fired at from the creamery; they were fired at from the manager's house of the creamery. That is not the end of the story. Those who formed the ambush got reinforcements and came back, and toward 5 o'clock in the evening the police retired to Castleisland for reinforcements. They came back this morning, and went into the creamery. They found a number of spent cartridges in it, they knew they had been fired at from it, and I say, as an act of war, they were justified in burning a portion of it down. It was within twenty yards of a road along which policemen had to patrol frequently every day. It was the center of an ambush. More than that, I had looked at the record of the manager of this creamery. He was a rebel in 1916 and . . . was sent to jail for nearly a year. He is the organizer of all the raids in that neighborhood. . . . These Auxiliary Division men went to the manager's house, knowing his record, and knowing that they had been fired at from the house, but they found a wounded Sinn Feiner inside and naturally, being chivalrous British soldiers, they did not touch the house but left it over the head of the wounded Sinn Feiner."

On November 17, in answer to a question in the House of Commons referring to the incidents at Ballymacelligott, the Chief Secretary stated:

"I have received a report regarding this occurrence, from which it appears that a police escort, with a party of journalists, while traveling from Castleisland to Tralee in County Kerry on the 12th instant, were attacked at Ballymacelligott by about seventy armed men concealed near the creamery, and were actually fired upon from the creamery. The police defended themselves, and in so doing killed four of their assailants and wounded others, but the exact number of wounded is not known. Seven arrests were effected, including a doctor and his servant who were attending a wounded man inside the creamery. The doctor and his servant were subsequently released, but the other prisoners have been retained for trial. The creamery and two or three adjoining homesteads, from which heavy fire was directed upon the police, and a quantity of hay ricks were burned. The creamery was found to contain petrol and a number of spent cartridges. It was probably the headquarters of the local Irish Republic in Ireland. The hay ricks burned with explosions, due undoubtedly to concealed ammunition."

In answer to a further question, Sir Hamar Greenwood replied:

"I have spoken to a gentleman who was in the ambush, and I am quite sure of my facts. During this particular day, there were three fights in the vicinity of this creamery, and I am convinced of the facts that I have stated in the House. I am glad that I have been able to interview one of my own staff who was in the ambush, and happily escaped with his life, who was able to give me an exact description of one of these ambushes, and an exact account of how one creamery, at any rate, was destroyed."

We are not, for the moment, concerned with the Chief Secretary's code of ethics. Our main concern is with his statements. The information supplied to Sir Hamar Greenwood on the case at Ballymacelligott is, as we shall show, untrue in certain important particulars. Indeed, we would go so far as to say that the account of the occurrences given by the Chief Secretary is a caricature of what actually happened, supplied to him, apparently, by a member of his own staff. The actual story of the occurrences, so far as we have been able to reconstruct it from evidence which is well corroborated, is as follows:

On Friday morning, November 12, a number of lorries containing police and military stopped on the road outside the creamery. So far as can be ascertained, no shots were fired from the creamery or the neighborhood by other than Crown forces. It may be pointed out that none of the men who were killed or wounded were carrying arms, and that no arms or ammunition of any kind were found in the creamery. We are convinced that, had any arms or ammunition been discovered, the fact would have been stated by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the House of Commons.

The members of the Crown forces jumped out of the lorries and the workmen in the creamery took to their heels and ran up the fields away from the road. It is not surprising that these men should have fled at the approach of armed men in uniform, especially in view of the events which had occurred prior to this date in the district. A railway worker had been shot through the neck two days previously, and a young farmer named Hoffman, of Farmer's Bridge, had also been shot, and died from his injuries. The Black and Tans fired upon the retreating men. Two men, John MacMahon and Patrick Herlihy, were shot dead. The former was a farmer and a member of the committee of management of the cooperative society. He had brought a quantity of corn to the creamery that morning, and was waiting to have it ground at the mill attached to the society's building. The latter was employed as a dairyman at the creamery. Two men were wounded. The first, Tim Walsh, the engine driver at the creamery, was very seriously wounded in the abdomen, and will probably not recover; the second was John McEllistrim. . . . John McEllistrim, the creamery manager, sustained a compound fracture of the arm. The police appeared to have acted in an aggressive manner, except when in the presence of the officer in charge of the military escort. This officer telegraphed for the doctor and assisted with the wounded. A soldier standing near the dead body of MacMahon was heard to say: "Disgraceful; it's a shame." Shortly after the shooting the parish priest and a nurse appeared on the scene, and gave assistance. The doctor, who had been sent for, arrived on the scene early in the afternoon, and after attending to the two wounded men who had been moved to the manager's house, departed to make a further call, and promised to return for McEllistrim and take him to

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the hospital at Tralee. The Crown forces left and traveled towards Castleisland. On this occasion no prisoners were taken.

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day (Friday, November 12) there came along the road from Castleisland two Crossley motor cars and two lorries. In the cars were Captain Pollard and Captain Jones, the former an ex-journalist who is on the staff at Dublin Castle, and the latter, Captain Jones, the personal secretary of Sir Hamar Greenwood. There were from fifteen to twenty men in the party, of whom about half were in civilian clothes. There were a few men about the creamery at the time, but certainly not anywhere approaching the seventy men who are alleged to have been present.

On this occasion also shots were fired by the party who had arrived by motors. We have discovered that three men with rifles and bandoliers were seen walking up the road away from the creamery and the main road between Castleisland and Tralee. Some little time after the Dublin Castle party had opened fire, shots were fired in reply from the higher ground on the left of the main road from Tralee. The return fire, however, did not consist of more than half a dozen shots. A search was made for the wounded, but not a single wounded man was found.

The doctor, who had returned and was waiting for McEllistrim to be dressed and prepared for his journey to Tralee, was arrested, as also was his chauffeur. Five men who were found about the creamery were also arrested. The party with its prisoners proceeded to Castleisland. On this occasion the creamery was searched and books and papers in the office were scattered about.

On Saturday afternoon, November 13, motor cars and lorries were seen approaching the creamery from the direction of Castleisland. At Ballymacelligott the party stopped, it is said, to look for the dead; apparently, however, no dead bodies were found. A few shots appear to have been fired, but none by local people. Captain Pollard and others who had taken part in the previous afternoon's proceedings were again in the party.

The creamery was set on fire by some member or members of the party from Castleisland. We have reason for believing that it was not the military who were acting as escorts, nor can it have been the prisoners taken the previous day who were being taken to Tralee. The Black and Tans tried to put out the fire. Those who would have attempted to save the butter in the creamery were prevented from doing so by the person who appears to have been in charge of the party.

As to the question of the trenches referred to by the Chief Secretary, it is undoubtedly true that there had been between Ballymacelligott and Castleisland, about three statute miles from the creamery, a trench across the road three or four feet wide and three feet deep. On the other side of the creamery, between Ballymacelligott and Tralee, there had been a shallow trench about one and one-half feet wide across the road. But we have positive knowledge that both these trenches were filled in at least four days before the occurrences at Ballymacelligott. At Farmer's Cross, some distance away, there was also a trench which had been filled in before the attack on the creamery.

The facts, as outlined above, do not harmonize with the statements made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the House of Commons. We do not believe that there was any ambush on either day. The story of an ambush is due, apparently, to the hectic imagination of those from whom the Chief Secretary obtained his information. It is said that spent cartridges were found in the creamery on Saturday, November 13. This may well be, as it is asserted that the police fired after the retreating men on Friday morning from the creamery. It is untrue to say that the Dublin Castle party were attacked by about seventy armed men. The statement that on the afternoon of Friday, November 12, four people were killed and a number wounded is without foundation.

The burning of the creamery and the killing and wounding of four persons are not the only incidents in connection with the Ballymacelligott affair. Sir Hamar Greenwood has admitted that two or three homesteads were burned. These acts of incendiarism were committed on Saturday, November 13. We took evidence on these events and incidentally discovered that from one of the houses a small purse was taken containing four sixpences, a half-crown, and 1s. 7½d. in coppers. The purse was afterwards found in the farmyard. The Chief Secretary suggested that there were explosions from the hayricks due to concealed ammunition. One of the soldiers told a witness who was alarmed at the repeated explosions from the direction of three burning hayricks that they were only explosives that the Black and Tans had put there.

The Commission is strongly of the opinion that there are certain sinister features in connection with the incidents at Ballymacelligott, on November 12 and 13, which should be the subject of an independent inquiry. We do not think that the Government should rely for its information in this case upon the *ex parte* statement of servants of the Crown, who appear to have acted recklessly and without a sense of responsibility. On the basis of the unchecked statements of one of the officials, the Chief Secretary has stated quite definitely that the burning of the Ballymacelligott creamery was justified. In our view, the Ballymacelligott incidents are as discreditable to the Government as any of the occurrences for which the Government or its agents have been responsible.

The Massacre at Croke Park

The Commission took considerable pains to elucidate the case of the Croke Park shootings. Certain points of fact had been admitted by the Government in official statements, and it was, therefore, unnecessary to obtain substantiation of points which were not in dispute. The Commission were more concerned to secure reliable evidence on those points on which the official statements conflicted with unofficial versions or which the Government had categorically denied or glossed over or ignored. The evidence accumulated by the Commission from actual eye-witnesses who were interviewed reveals certain important discrepancies between the official and unofficial accounts. In his official statement in the House of Commons on November 23, Sir Hamar Greenwood said that "the round-up and search of spectators was carried out by the authorities according to a preconcerted plan with the object of securing Sinn Fein gunmen who had taken part in the assassinations of that morning of fourteen British officers in Dublin. . . . It had been arranged that after the military had surrounded the field an officer should announce to the crowd through a megaphone that a search was to be made by the police, and that no anxiety need be felt by innocent persons. The police force approached the neighborhood of the field while the military were encircling it, but before the military cordon was complete the police were observed by civilians, who had evidently been specially posted to watch the approaches to the field. The police were fired upon from two corners of the field. Simultaneously men rose from their places on the grand-stand and fired three quick shots from revolvers into the air. Of this there is indisputable evidence. It seems quite clear that these shots were a prearranged signal of warning to certain sections of the crowd. A stampede was caused not by the firing alone, which caused considerable alarm, but also by a rush of men seeking to make their escape from the field. They hurried mostly to one side of the field, where a corrugated iron railing was the only barrier to be surmounted. Through the fall a number of people were crushed. Meanwhile the armed pickets outside, joined, no doubt, by gunmen escaping from inside the ground, were maintaining a fire in the direction of the police, who returned the fire. The firing lasted not more than three minutes. About thirty revolvers, thrown away by men who had formed part of the spectators, were picked up on the ground."

The Commission have no hesitation in recording their opinion that the Croke Park tragedy was not in the nature of a premeditated "reprisal." It is quite possible that the authorities had for some time been contemplating a round-up at Croke

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Park when the match between the Dublin and Tipperary teams took place. But it would appear from Sir Hamar Greenwood's statement that the decision had been finally determined by the assassinations of officers earlier in the day. It is inconceivable that the forces employed in the round-up would not be affected by those assassinations, and accordingly it is only reasonable to expect that special precautions would be taken against any hitch in the carrying out of the plan for the encircling of the field by the military. Sir Hamar Greenwood states that the police arrived before the military cordon was complete, and it would appear from this admission that the round-up, instead of working to plan, was partially disorganized in its preliminary stages. Even if this initial blunder had not taken place, the Commission find it difficult to concur in the view of the authorities that the scheme was a sound one. Mass psychology is often a sensitive and uncertain factor, and mob fears are quickly aroused. This is particularly true in Ireland where the sudden arrival of Crown forces, particularly the R. I. C., has so often been followed by tragedy.

With regard to Sir Hamar Greenwood's assertion that the police were fired on from two corners of the field, particular attention was given to the point by the Commission and every effort was made to bring to light evidence in support of it. The Commission are, however, compelled to declare that in the light of the mass of evidence available this charge would appear to be quite untrue. Not one of the many witnesses examined corroborated it. On the contrary, evidence was submitted to the effect that the police commenced to fire almost immediately the lorries came to a halt. Rifle fire was directed down Russell Street whence the lorries had come, and also over the turnstile entrance to the football field at the spectators inside. The consequence of this was that a man was mortally wounded about half way down Russell Street, a young woman was shot dead at her fiance's side near the center of the field, and a small boy perched in a tree just inside the turnstile entrance was brought down wounded.

The Commission was unable to obtain evidence to support or to disprove the contention that signal shots were fired from the stand into the air, and it is quite possible that if this incident did occur the reports of shots from the stand might have so synchronized with those on the bridge as to be practically indistinguishable to anyone at a little distance. That large numbers of spectators stampeded is but natural, and the indiscriminate shooting of panic-stricken men cannot be even partly justified or defended on the ground that there might have been "gunmen" among them trying to escape. It was manifestly folly to expect the crowd to disperse in an orderly fashion after firing had taken place from the bridge. It would not have been an easy matter to have secured an orderly clearing of the field even if no firing had taken place and the officer had, according to plan, issued police instructions through a megaphone. Finally, it is difficult to understand why, if pickets and "gunmen" "maintained a fire in the direction of the police," there were no casualties among the police or among the militant civilians and no prisoners with arms captured.

Our conclusion is that the scheme in itself was dangerous, that its execution was a lamentable failure, and that there was no justification for what occurred. Not even panic, itself a sufficiently serious reflection in the case of a disciplined force, can excuse the action of the police amongst whom there appears to have been a spirit of calculated brutality and lack of self-control which, as has been officially admitted, resulted in twelve innocent persons losing their lives, eleven being injured seriously enough to be detained in hospital, and fifty others being more or less slightly hurt—a grand total of seventy-three victims. According to the evidence furnished to the Commission, the operations were conducted by the R. I. C. and Auxiliaries. The soldiers took no part. Finally, the central point of the Government's defense, namely, that the police were fired on from two corners of the field, does not, in face of the evidence submitted to the Commission, appear to be tenable. Croke Park was a ghastly tragedy resulting from official errors of judgment and incompetence.

Tralee

Tralee, more than any other place visited by the Commission, exemplifies the demoralizing effects of coercion, repression, and reprisals. The whole population seemed to be sunk in the depths of morbid fear and contagious depression. There is no curfew in Tralee, but the streets become bare soon after the hour of darkness sets in. The roads are narrow and in bad condition. There is little evidence of active public services. It is not to be wondered at. We were told that the local council, instead of meeting at the Town Hall, was compelled to meet in secret in some hidden ravine. Tralee had been the victim of reprisals early in November, the principal public buildings being destroyed by fire. When the Commission visited the town, the situation was comparatively calm. But the effects of the operation of "official determination" were very obvious. Petty tyranny, beatings, intimidation, raids, threats of violence against husbands uttered to wives, brutal assaults to make boys forswear Sinn Fein, to denounce the Pope, to spit on photographs of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, to chant the "battlecry" of the R. I. C., and innumerable other methods of terrorization, which were reported to the Commission, had left their marks upon the inhabitants. We do not believe that any official document would be worth the paper it was printed upon if Mr. Hugh Martin were to meet some of the policemen who displayed a keen anxiety as to his whereabouts. Names printed above shops in Irish characters have had to be obliterated under penalty of vengeance. The Black and Tans used to drive about in lorries trailing a Sinn Fein flag through the mud. Even in Cork, where the Commission found a noticeable nervous tension and a dread of what "seemed about to happen," the people were not nearly so reduced in spirit as those in Tralee. The very atmosphere in Tralee was deadening. The conditions there spoke eloquently of what the people had suffered under the Black and Tans. These have now been partly replaced by Auxiliaries, and it is only fair to state that the Commission were informed that the latter were conducting their duties with greater consideration for the inhabitants than they had been accustomed to experience prior to their introduction.

The Government and the Truth About Reprisals

The answers given by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in reply to questions concerning events in Ireland, and the statements made by ministers of the Crown, have been characterized by a disregard for truth. The official view of some of the occurrences with which we have dealt in this Report is diametrically opposed to the view taken by the Commission after investigation. The Government, on its side, bases its statements solely upon information received from its own agents. We fear that often the sources from which this information comes are tainted by prejudice. Moreover, the Crown forces involved in incidents which would reflect little credit upon them are unlikely voluntarily to report with accuracy the occurrences in which they have played a part. We cannot imagine a body of Black and Tans guilty of the conduct described in this Report, in connection with cases which the Commission made the subject of inquiry, presenting a report to their superior officers in accordance with the facts. These considerations render the statements made by the Chief Secretary untrustworthy.

The sources on which we mainly relied, on the other hand, were unofficial. As was to be expected we have had pressed upon us the point of view of the victims of reprisals. Though we endeavored, wherever possible, to obtain the testimony of independent people and the official view on cases coming under our notice, we drew much of our evidence from people who had actually suffered from the actions of the Crown forces. No doubt some of our evidence was prejudiced by political bias against the British Government, as the evidence of the Crown forces is prejudiced by bias against the Sinn Fein movement.

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But we have, wherever we detected it, allowed for the bias of witnesses whom we examined.

We had every desire to state the facts as we have found them, fairly and without exaggeration. But even if the weight of evidence which we have collected is somewhat colored by feelings of hostility against the British Government and its armed servants, we think that it bears the stamp of truth in all essentials. Most of the evidence which we submit in this Report rings true. The statements made on behalf of the Government, on the other hand, do not carry conviction.

But what, in the opinion of the Commission, is even worse than the misrepresentation of facts is the attitude of the Government toward reprisals. Terrorism and outrage on the part of members of the forces of the Crown in Ireland are condoned, defended, and justified. Deeds of a similar character perpetrated by other people in Ireland are denounced by the men who give their support to "reprisals," by Black and Tans and Auxiliary Police, as brutality, murder, and assassination.

The fact that men are alleged to be acting in support of law and order under the authority of a Government does not place them above the law. It does not elevate murder to the level of a virtue. Murder in cold blood, the callous and brutal treatment of innocent children, incendiarism, and theft are crimes and offenses against the moral law, even when they are committed under the auspices of the British Empire and in the name of law and order. Sir Hamar Greenwood has applied the term "murder gang" to the "gunmen" of Ireland. The epithet can be applied to those individuals who, in the pay of the British Government, kill people in cold blood. The Chief Secretary has identified himself with a policy which is a disgrace to the British people, and which we believe to be unparalleled in this country. The criminal nature of this policy of violence is clearly seen by considering the essential features of reprisals and violence.

What Are Reprisals

The burning of Balbriggan is regarded by the Chief Secretary for Ireland as a reprisal for the shooting of a police officer. Men were shot, houses and other buildings were burned, women and children terrified and driven to the fields. The police may or may not, in this terrible havoc, have punished those guilty of the death of the police officer. But even if they do, it is a frightful procedure to inflict so much injury upon the many who are innocent in order that the very few who are guilty may suffer. The destruction of the creameries at Achonry and Tubbercurry, in revenge for the death of a district inspector of police, struck at the whole countryside about the two creameries, yet the burnings may not have struck at the individuals implicated in the shooting of District Inspector Brady. Reprisals of this kind are a cruel and inhuman policy, the resort of those whose bankruptcy of statesmanship is equaled only by their incompetence to deal with the situation which they have largely created.

Besides reprisals for specific occurrences there are the more general sort of reprisals—reprisals against all and sundry, not for this or that particular crime, but for the general attitude of the bulk of Irish people toward the British Government and its paid servants in Ireland. The policy of sheer terrorism, and of brutal treatment to individuals, is directed against the people as a whole. Again, the innocent certainly suffer, and the guilty may or may not suffer with them. Reprisals and the whole policy of violence are condemned because they are inhuman, and also because by driving the people to revolt or sullen despair they but intensify the problem they are designed to solve by crushing it out of existence.

The Government's Responsibility for Reprisals

Unable or unwilling to cope with the growing bitterness and violence which its policy of repression had enormously strengthened, the Government resorted to the reinforcement of the R. I. C. by ex-service men and the establishment of a new type of armed force consisting of ex-officers. We do not wish to make any sweeping accusation against the R. I. C. and the Auxiliary Division. But there are individuals in both forces—and the number we fear is not small—whose actions merit the strongest condemnation.

The worst elements in the two forces—notwithstanding the praise bestowed upon the R. I. C. and the Auxiliary Division by the Chief Secretary—are undesirable characters. Disciplined control might have restrained them. But the outstanding fact regarding lots of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries is that they are not under control. The Government has created a weapon which it cannot wield. It has liberated forces which it is not at present able to dominate. The men have got out of hand, and the Government cannot truthfully deny it.

The result has been seen in the tragic occurrences which we have described in this Report. The Government had no choice but to support its servants. It was represented to them that any other course would dishearten the Crown forces in the pursuit of their dangerous duties and play into the hands of the physical force section of the Sinn Fein movement. We do not believe that the Government directly and definitely inspired reprisals and violence. But it brought into existence a new constabulary, with its Auxiliary Division, which was undisciplined and virtually uncontrolled. The Government must take full responsibility for its own offspring. Moreover, whilst it has perfunctorily denied certain occurrences which are beyond doubt, it has associated itself with and defended the crimes committed by the Crown forces in Ireland. The blame for the present situation does not rest primarily with the members of the Crown forces, but with the Government.

The Results of the Government's Policy

(a) The Health of the People

Months of oppression, coercion, and physical violence cannot but have far-reaching effects upon the people who suffer under them. The future alone will bring to light the complete results of the awful events which have followed in rapid succession in Ireland, particularly during the past twelve months. We may, however, point to some of the consequences which are now obvious to all who have come into close touch with the Irish people.

It is clear that the terrorism which prevails has had serious effects upon the health of people. We may leave out of account the obvious consequences likely to follow to the members of a household who have been the horrified witnesses of bloodshed and violence in their own homes, and consider the effects of the terror upon those who have never experienced such an ordeal. There is medical testimony to show that the fear inspired by Black and Tans and Auxiliary Police has had the most adverse effects upon pregnant women. Children naturally suffer from the effects of a terror-laden atmosphere, and we are informed that the number of such diseases as St. Vitus' dance has considerably increased. A large section of the population is "all nerves." The strain has begun to tell, especially in those areas where the excesses of the Crown forces have been most frequent.

(b) Economic Life

Equally disastrous has been the effect of the existing conditions in Ireland upon the economic life of the country. The creeping paralysis which has attacked Irish trade and industry is not without its influence upon Great Britain. Last year Ireland imported goods to the value of £158,000,000, whilst her exports amounted to £178,000,000. The great bulk of this trade was with Great Britain. Instead of expanding (as with settled peace it undoubtedly would) it may diminish to the detriment of both the Irish and British peoples. At a time when unemployment is increasing, Ireland's economic activities are being slowly strangled. If Ireland were able to satisfy her needs, the effect upon British trade and upon employment in this country would be appreciable, whilst the payment she would make in the form of bacon, butter, eggs, cattle, and other produce would not be without their effect on the cost of living.

The stagnation of trade in Ireland is due partly to the de-

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struction of industrial capital (in the shape of buildings, machinery, and other equipment), partly to the general atmosphere of terrorism, and partly also to the actual suspension of the railway service over a large part of the country. Fortunately, however, the railway service is to be resumed.

We have referred in earlier sections of the Report to the destruction of creameries, about forty of which have been totally or partially destroyed. To these creameries comes the produce of the farmers in the neighborhood. The number of suppliers of milk to a creamery may be a few or several hundreds. The destruction of a creamery, through which a farmer reaches the market, obviously strikes a heavy blow at the agriculturists in an area, apart from the actual loss sustained to the cooperative society by the loss of buildings, equipment, and stock. The cooperative movement in Ireland has been built up in the face of enormous difficulties, and with great sacrifice and enthusiasm. It is in some ways one of the most remarkable developments of recent years in Ireland, and the destruction of cooperative creameries has inflicted a grievous blow on a movement full of promise.

The destruction of factories, such as those at Balbriggan and Bandon, to which we have already referred, of printing works, as at Tralee, Athlone, and elsewhere, of other workshops, and of large distributive stores (such as has taken place on a large scale in Cork) has meant both the loss of a considerable amount of wealth and a growth of unemployment.

The suppression of markets in many places has increased Ireland's economic troubles and inflicted serious injury, particularly upon the peasant population. In Killarney, for example, fairs have been prohibited, and the poorer sections of the community who fattened pigs for the sale have no means of transporting them to adjacent markets.

Moreover, the prevailing uncertainty has had an adverse effect upon trade everywhere. We have already pointed out, for example, that distributive stores in Cork have suffered very considerably in recent months.

One of the most distressing features of the economic situation in Ireland is the discouragement of enterprise. As an example we may quote an instance which was brought under the notice of the Commission. A scheme was inaugurated for the erection of an abattoir at Waterford to serve the farmers in five counties. The enterprise was to be on a considerable scale, and £500,000 was needed for the purpose. Over half this sum was raised when cooperative creameries began to be burned. The effect was to render it impracticable for the promoters to proceed with the scheme. If small creameries were destroyed, there was no certainty that larger enterprises would be secure. This important new development of Irish industry has therefore been killed in the birth. To put the situation in general terms, existing conditions in Ireland are creating stagnation and preventing the growth of new economic activities.

(c) The Spirit of the People

The Government has stated that it is "breaking the terror" created by the "murder gang." The effect of their policy cannot be so simply described. There are signs here and there that the Government's policy, and the intimidation and cruelty for which the Crown forces are responsible, might force a section of the people into a sullen acquiescence in the political government imposed on Ireland by Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition, and that the spirit of these people might be broken. We shall not count it for righteousness in the British Government if it achieves this end. On the contrary, we should regard it as the worst of the crimes which could be charged against them.

We do not think, however, that the real danger lies in this direction. One of the most fundamental results of coercion and violence is the intensification of the spirit of revolt and the increased bitterness against British dominion. We ask what effect the harrying of Irishmen is likely to have upon their minds. It is more likely to engender deeper hostility than to encourage conciliatory feelings. Even if such men were to abjure their faith—which is not likely—it would not insure their safety. Moreover, the murder or ill treatment of husbands and sons and brothers, the indignities to which large numbers of people have been subjected, the threats which have been hurled at them, and the provocative behavior of members of the armed forces in Ireland are creating a new bitterness of spirit which a stern and relentless policy of violence will only strengthen and can never allay.

Whatever the Government may assert to the contrary, the policy is a failure. It may yield an apparent and temporary success, but the rising generation is being nurtured in an atmosphere of hatred for all things British, and until reasonableness and generosity supersede repression and violence, the Irish problem will remain insoluble. The urgent question which lies before the British people is that of peace in Ireland.

British Labor's Peace Efforts

The National Executive of the Labor Party and the Parliamentary Labor Party have been concerning themselves for a considerable period with the possibilities of bringing about an honorable and durable settlement of the problem of Irish government. The resolution adopted at the Annual Conference of the Labor Party held at Scarborough in June aimed at defining the general principles which British Labor regarded as the essential basis of any solution that the majority of the Irish people were likely to accept.

On the occasion of the third reading of the Government of Ireland Bill in the House of Commons on November 11, the Rt. Hon. William Adamson, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party, made an important new pronouncement on Labor's Irish policy which was in strict harmony with the Scarborough resolution, and removed any doubts that may have existed regarding the interpretation of that resolution. Briefly, the policy outlined by Mr. Adamson was as follows:

1. That the British Army of Occupation be withdrawn.
2. That the question of Irish Government be relegated to an Irish Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation by free equal and secret vote.
3. That the Constitution drawn up by the Assembly be accepted provided—

(a) it affords protection to minorities; and

(b) prevents Ireland becoming a military or naval menace to Britain.

The importance of this new declaration lay in the fact that it represented in clear and unequivocal terms the considered views of the political wing of British organized labor, and carried with it the unanimous support of both the National Executive and the Parliamentary Labor Party.

The political effects of this official presentation of definite policy began to manifest themselves almost immediately. On November 16, the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress held a national conference in Dublin, at which over one thousand properly accredited delegates were present. This conference, which spoke in the name of the combined political and industrial labor movement in Ireland, took cognizance of the British Labor Party's Irish policy, as it had been outlined by Mr. Adamson, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"This conference declares, on behalf of the Irish labor movement, its readiness to advocate the acceptance of this policy as being the fulfilment of Ireland's demand for the right to choose and decide its own form of government, and assures the British workers that the realization of the policy outlined will lead to goodwill and fraternity between the two peoples; and further we indorse the statement already made by our National Executive to the leaders of the British trade union movement, that the only obstacle to peace and good order is the presence of the British armed forces; and we indorse with confidence the assurance they have given that the withdrawal of these forces from any district, leaving responsibility and power for the maintenance of order to the popularly elected representa-

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tives, will secure peace and good government in that district."

This resolution was remarkable in its significance. For the first time since 1914 the British and Irish labor movements were in true alignment on the great issue of Irish self-government. It is not without interest to remark that this rapprochement was the consequential result of British labor's initiative. Irish labor came into line with British labor in support of a definite set of proposals emanating not from Ireland but from England for the solution of what is primarily an Irish problem. Unity of purpose and, as will be seen, uniformity of method had been achieved between the workers of Great Britain and their comrades in Ireland.

British labor was not alone in recognizing the great political importance of this resolution. The Prime Minister, in reply to a question in the House of Commons on November 25, said:

"I have carefully considered the resolution in question and welcome it as expressing a desire on the part of Irish labor organizations for a constitutional settlement. . . . Undoubtedly this body represents a very powerful section of Irish opinion, and to that extent it is a valuable contribution."

The Prime Minister added that he did not believe that Ireland would accept an expression of opinion from a labor conference as an expression of opinion of the whole nation. Irish labor was apparently not the body whom the Prime Minister regarded as being able "to deliver the goods"; nevertheless he conceded that the conference declaration was "a valuable contribution."

It had been intended that the Labor Commission of Inquiry into Reprisals, and their moral and economic effects, should leave London for Dublin on November 23. On November 22 a meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party was held at the House of Commons to discuss the question of the departure of the Commission in the light of the unhappy events which occurred in Dublin during the previous week-end. At this meeting it was decided that the Commission's departure should be postponed until the following week. The prejudicial effects of all acts of violence to the restoration of peace in Ireland and to the opening up of negotiations for a settlement by agreement of the political problem were discussed and the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party expresses its deep horror of the brutal assassination of British subjects, civilian and military, in Dublin during the past week-end. The Labor Party has already emphatically denounced the British Government's inhuman policy of reprisals, but the Parliamentary Party, whilst associating itself fully with such denunciation, also condemns acts of violence committed against agents of the British Government and others, under whatever provocation. It holds that, from the political point of view, such acts embitter public opinion, provide the Government with apparent justification for their policy of reprisals, and jeopardize the efforts that are being made by the Labor Party under grave difficulties to bring about an early and honorable settlement of the Irish question.

"The Parliamentary Labor Party appeals to both sides for an immediate truce. It calls upon the leaders of Sinn Fein movement to repudiate the outrages committed in the name of Irish nationalism, and to take every possible step to bring them to an end, and upon the British Government to discontinue its policy of physical repression. Outrages and reprisals, by whomsoever committed, have thrust into the background the real problem, and until they are terminated there can be no progress made toward the inauguration of an era of peace and freedom in Ireland."

In this resolution the Parliamentary Labor Party indicated what it regarded as the chief obstacle in the path of peace, and it gave utterance to the above twofold appeal in the hope that it would afford both sides an opportunity to make a frank and dignified response which would lead to a cessation of acts of violence and other provocative acts and so pave the way for the opening up of negotiations.

On November 23 Mr. Henderson, who had been appointed chairman of the Commission of Inquiry, and Mr. Adamson took part in a private discussion with Mr. George Russell ("Æ") and Mr. James MacNeill, brother of Professor John MacNeill, one of the most influential and responsible of the Sinn Fein leaders. On the following day Mr. Henderson and Mr. George Russell breakfasted with the Prime Minister when an extended conversation took place regarding the situation in Ireland.

Following upon these informal discussions Mr. Henderson suggested that it was desirable the Commission should extend the scope of its activities in Ireland to include conversations with representative leaders regarding the possibilities of a truce being arranged as a preliminary step toward official negotiations. Mr. Adamson, who had been associated with Mr. Henderson in some private discussions in London and who was not one of the original members, became an additional member of the Commission, it being understood that Mr. Henderson and Mr. Adamson should devote their time and attention to the peace issue, leaving the other members of the Commission to carry on the inquiries concerning reprisals.

No definite plans had been arranged prior to the Commission leaving London regarding the steps to be taken with a view to exploring the possibilities of a cessation of acts of violence being brought about. An informal consultation with members of the Executive Committee of the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress had, however, been arranged with a view to discussing the general work of the Commission. It was hoped that this meeting would afford an opportunity to touch upon the wider issue of a truce. The reason for this limited move was that the Commission were strongly averse from taking any step that might not meet with the approval of the Irish Labor representatives, and considered that it would be quite useless to attempt any act of mediation unless they were able to count upon the benevolent support of Irish labor. The newly established unity between the two national movements was not to be endangered by any precipitate action, however well-intentioned, on the part of the British Labor Commission.

During the train journey from London to Holyhead the Commission noticed in the press the remarkable letter issued by Mr. Roger Sweetman, Sinn Fein M.P. for North Wexford. In this letter Mr. Sweetman suggested an immediate conference between the British Labor Commission, the Irish Labor Party, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, and the Irish Peace Conference, with the object of considering steps to put a stop to bloodshed in Ireland. He stated: "I am absolutely convinced that the methods of warfare now being employed are deplorable in their results to our country, both from a material as well as a moral standpoint. I therefore take it upon myself in this great crisis to make this suggestion solely on my own responsibility."

This letter, it will be observed, contained a direct reference to the Labor Commission, and it was regarded as affording a valuable opportunity for the issue of a statement dealing with the greater issue with which a portion of the Commission proposed to concern themselves. Accordingly, Mr. Henderson made the following communication to the press, as a tentative response to Mr. Sweetman's suggestion:

"We have seen the proposal made by Mr. R. M. Sweetman, Sinn Fein M.P. for North Wexford, suggesting an immediate conference between the Irish Labor Party, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, the Irish Peace Conference, and ourselves, with the object of bringing to an end acts of violence in Ireland. The suggestion is both courageous and timely, and will certainly be most carefully considered at our first meeting as a Commission.

"Whilst the specific purpose of our visit is to inquire into allegations which have been made with regard to outrages and reprisals, we desire to say to the Irish people that we are less concerned with apportioning responsibility for violence in Ireland than with proposals for terminating violence and disorder; and they may rely upon us to give all the assistance in our power to any suggestion for reestablishing peace in Ireland. We should, indeed, be only too happy if in any way

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our Commission could become an instrument toward this end.

"If the bodies mentioned by Mr. Sweetman express any desire to secure our cooperation they will find us ready to meet them. We do not wish to prejudice any chances there may be of terminating the reign of violence in Ireland, and we must, therefore, wait until our good offices are invited. Moreover before committing ourselves to any particular method of helping forward the cause of peace, we should wish to confer with our Irish labor colleagues, whose policy for the settlement of the Irish question is in complete accord with that formulated by the British Labor Party.

"We are convinced that once a halt is called to the murderous strife which is now rending the living body of Ireland in twain, it will be possible to attain a permanent settlement on the lines of conciliation and consent."

The reception of this statement by the press, and especially the Irish press, was on the whole both sympathetic and encouraging.

On Wednesday, December 1, the Commission held its first meeting in Dublin, which was attended by Messrs. McPartlin (chairman), William O'Brien, Farren, O'Farrell, and T. Johnson (secretary), representing the Executive of the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress. Mr. Henderson explained that the primary purpose of the Commission was to inquire into the whole question of reprisals. But they were of the opinion that it was especially desirable to secure a cessation of all acts of violence, so as to create a suitable atmosphere in which official negotiations for an official truce and subsequently for a political settlement might be conducted between the representatives of the British Government and accredited delegates from the elected representatives of the Irish people. He further declared that the Commission were only concerned to use their good offices in the capacity of mediators desirous of helping toward this end provided they were acceptable to both sides. Care would be taken to make it perfectly clear that the initiative in the matter had been taken by the British Labor Commission, who were anxious to avoid the impression being created that Ireland alone was desirous of a truce being established, or that any steps which might be taken by the Commission were inspired by any supposed "weakening" on the part of the Irish people.

As the Irish Labor representatives had not been informed that it was the intention of the Commission to broach the question of a truce and consequently had not come prepared to express any official view in the matter, the Commission retired in order that their Irish colleagues should have an opportunity fully and freely to discuss the proposals in private. On reassembling the Commission were acquainted with the official views of the Executive Committee of the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress.

The next step taken by Messrs. Henderson and Adamson was to seek a personal interview with Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin. The meeting took place on the morning of Thursday, December 2. In the afternoon of the same day they paid a visit to Mountjoy Prison where, by the courtesy of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, they had an extended private consultation with Mr. Arthur Griffiths, the acting president of the Sinn Fein Council. On Sunday, December 5, Mr. Henderson, who motored from Dublin to Armagh, was received by Cardinal Logue, the Irish Primate. The proposals discussed at each of these several interviews were in strict accord with those outlined by the Commission to the representatives of the Irish labor movement.

In addition to seeing the foregoing, Messrs. Henderson and Adamson met a number of representative persons connected with Irish trade and industry, the higher professions, or political parties other than Sinn Fein, and individual citizens who took a deep personal interest in the national problem of Ireland but who were not associated with any political organization.

The general conclusions formed by the Commission as the result of these inquiries may be summarized as follows:

1. There was undoubtedly a general desire among the Irish people for an immediate and complete cessation of all acts of violence and all provocative acts.

2. There did not appear to be any grounds to justify the belief held in certain quarters that Sinn Fein is almost ready to surrender unconditionally or is becoming anxious for peace at any price.

3. The attitude of responsible leaders of different branches of organized thought and opinion is not one of unqualified opposition to the suggestion of a truce. We hold the opinion almost to the point of conviction that the leaders of Sinn Fein will only enter any conference provided they are recognized as being on terms of equality—as the elected representatives of one nation negotiating with the elected representatives of another nation.

4. That, provided there is a real disposition on the part of the British Government to respond to the general call for a truce, there would be an equally ready disposition on the part of those in Ireland who wield enormous power to exert their influence with the extremists in the direction of bringing a period of calm and tranquility in their country.

5. That, in the event of both sides earnestly endeavoring to give effect, in the first instance, to an informal policy on these lines, there were reasonable grounds for believing that a cessation of strife could be effected, provided it was understood that negotiations for an official truce, to be followed by negotiations for a political settlement, would be inaugurated within a reasonable period.

6. The bulk of the Irish population regard the British Labor Party as the final hope of rendering possible a settlement by agreement.

Fortified by the views which had been expressed to them in Ireland, Messrs. Henderson and Adamson returned to London, in the belief that if the Government were sincere in their expressed desire for peace in Ireland and were not irrevocably fixed to their policy of ruthless repression as the only means whereby they believed peace would be realized, they were in a position to make suggestions which would materially help toward an expeditious settlement.

On Tuesday, December 7, they were received by the Prime Minister who listened to their proposals and their views on the Irish situation, in the light of the information they had gained and the impression they had formed during their visit to Ireland. The Prime Minister at this interview was non-committal. He gave his reply on Friday, December 10, in the House of Commons, when he outlined the Government's new policy of proclaiming martial law in certain districts, while encouraging every effort towards peace. The two principal features of his statement were:

1. A promise of safe conduct to all Sinn Fein M.P.s not accused of serious crime to meet to discuss peace; and

2. Martial law and intensified war against the militant members of the I.R.A. in the south-west of Ireland.

This official statement appeared to indicate that labor's efforts for peace in Ireland had been rendered at least temporarily abortive. Notwithstanding this, however, the Commission made yet another effort to influence the mind of the Prime Minister. On Thursday, December 16, at a joint meeting of the National Executive of the Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the full Commission, which had returned from Ireland, it was decided to request the Prime Minister to receive the members of the Commission as a deputation. The interview took place at the House of Commons at 5.30 p.m., the Prime Minister being accompanied by Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Hamar Greenwood. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Adamson represented to the Prime Minister the situation in Ireland as it had been appraised by the Commission, and reiterated their appeal to the Government to declare their willingness to participate in an all-round cessation of acts of violence as an essential stepping stone to official negotiations. The Prime Minister's reply, however, made no appreciable advance from the position which he had taken up in his statement in Parliament on the previous Friday,

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though he did encourage the Commission to proceed with its peace endeavors.

While, in view of the latest Ministerial declarations, the Commission were not very sanguine of immediate success, they decided to persist in their mediatory efforts which had proceeded so satisfactorily in the early stages. The proposal which the Commission had submitted to the Irish Labor representatives and to Cardinal Logue and the Archbishop of Dublin was that the Commission should prepared an appeal to be issued over the signatures of its members, and to be countersigned by representatives of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, and by the Irish Hierarchy or responsible representatives thereof. It was proposed that the appeal should be directed to the British Government and the recognized leaders of Sinn Fein, urging the cessation of all acts of violence and all other provocative acts committed by responsible or irresponsible members of either the Crown forces or the Sinn Fein movement, in order to produce a period of quiet in Ireland; that when this unofficial truce had operated for an agreed period, official negotiations should be commenced for (1) a regular truce, and (2) a peaceful settlement of the political question by agreement. While it was suggested that the preliminary truce should be unofficial and in the nature of an earnest of good intention, it was intended that it should be the first of three related steps to which tentative agreement should be secured in advance from the responsible parties on both sides. The reception of this threefold plan by the heads of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland and by the Irish Labor representatives was so favorable as to encourage Mr. Henderson and Mr. Adamson in the view that if on their return to London they could obtain a satisfactory response from the Government, it would be possible to make a beginning in the direction of peace by the issue of the Labor Commission's proposed appeal, countersigned by the responsible leaders of the two national bodies referred to above. The Government, however, neither definitely rejected nor actually accepted the proposals. The effect of this non-committal attitude, and of the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons, was prejudicial to British Labor's endeavors at conciliation, as will be gathered from the following text of a communication addressed to the Prime Minister on Thursday, December 23:

"When you received the Labor Commission on Ireland, you suggested that we might continue our efforts in the direction of peace and the cessation of the policy of violence. As the result of your statement to the House of Commons on Friday, December 10, the Commission were in considerable doubt as to whether the representatives of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress would join in the appeal which, in the more promising circumstances existing when the Commission was in Dublin, they and the heads of the Catholic Hierarchy had promised to do provided that there were reasonable assurances that such an appeal would meet with a response on both sides.

"Notwithstanding our doubts, the Commission, after our interview with you, Mr. Bonar Law, and Sir Hamar Greenwood, felt that they must act in harmony with your suggestion to go forward with our peace effort. Accordingly we communicated with the Executive of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, who have replied to the effect that, judging by your speech of Friday, December 10, there seems to be no prospect of the Government making an immediate response to the suggested appeal, and that in existing circumstances for them to associate with the Labor Commission in any such appeal would be calculated to do more harm than good.

"We are not surprised at the reply to our letter, and feel bound, most regretfully, to say that as the matter stands now there is a deadlock which can only be removed by the Government. We beg you most earnestly to consider whether it would not be possible for you, for a limited period from a given date after the issue of an appeal for a cessation of all acts of violence endorsed by the heads of the Catholic Hierarchy and the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, to undertake that so far as the Crown forces are concerned there should be no acts of provocation or violence. On our side, we would endeavor to obtain a similar undertaking from Sinn Fein, it being understood that you would call off reprisals only if Sinn Fein called off all acts of violence.

"We suggest also that you should undertake during this unofficial truce to meet those who can speak for the elected representatives of the Irish people for the purpose of agreeing upon the terms of an open truce to continue, say, four months, and that during this period the seventy-one elected representatives should be allowed to meet to elect their delegates and formulate proposals for discussion with representatives of the British Government of the general question of a permanent settlement, each side being free to state its demands.

"We feel sure that on these lines the present unhappy condition of Ireland could be terminated, and if you will on behalf of the British Government accept the proposals we have outlined you may rely upon the Labor Party and ourselves to give every assistance in our power. "ARTHUR HENDERSON,

"WILLIAM ADAMSON."

The Commission deeply regret that their efforts have not met with that measure of immediate success for which they had hoped. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the Commission occupied the difficult position of unofficial mediators engaged in the voluntary task of attempting to create a set of circumstances that would render probable a conference between the representatives of the British Government and those of Sinn Fein. It is true that for the time being they have not achieved their object, but they believe their endeavors have not been entirely fruitless. Labor can render valuable service not only by helping to create the right atmosphere but also by pursuing its purpose of endeavoring to establish direct contact and official relations between the British Government and the Sinn Fein movement. The final solution of the Irish problem will not be found through a policy of violence or of vengeance. Ultimately it will have to be found along the lines of conciliation and consent by the more enlightened method of negotiation. The Irish people have faith in British Labor alone among the political parties in this country, and we believe that if the labor movement will persist in its efforts for peace it will be able to make an effective contribution towards the settlement of the most difficult problem now confronting the British people.

CONCLUSION

We have already expressed our indebtedness to the Executive Committee of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, and to Mr. Tom Johnson, their secretary, and to the Irish Transport Workers' Union for their kindness in placing Mr. E. Rooney at our disposal to act as stenographer to the Commission. To Mr. Rooney personally we owe our thanks. We wish that our thanks could be carried to the large number of people in Ireland who in various ways assisted our inquiry, for without their cooperation our task would have been difficult, if not impossible.

We cannot close this report without an appeal to the British labor movement and to the British public. Things are being done in the name of Britain which must make her name stink in the nostrils of the whole world. The honor of our people has been gravely compromised. Not only is there a reign of terror in Ireland which should bring a blush of shame to every British citizen, but a nation is being held in subjection by an empire which has proudly boasted that it is the friend of small nations. Let the people of Britain raise their voices in a united demand for the rescue of the Irish people from the rule of force and for the establishment of peace and freedom and a new brotherhood between the peoples of the British Isles. Only by repudiating the errors of the past and the infamies of the present can the democracy of Great Britain recover its honor. Only by granting to Ireland the freedom which is her due can our people fulfil their great responsibilities towards our sister nation.

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Appendix

An appendix to the Report contains a number of documents bearing on the state of terrorism in Ireland from which the most important have been extracted and printed below.

Police Complicity in Reprisals

[The original of the following document is no longer in possession of the authorities. The Commission saw the actual document and a photograph was taken of it. The term "look up" is apparently an accepted phrase which may cover a multitude of sins. The instructions in the document are couched in vague language, but the Commission is of opinion that the recipient of the instructions would read between the lines.]

Secret 117S
34142

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY OFFICE, DUBLIN CASTLE

Crime Department—Special Branch

(The officer to whom this file is addressed is responsible for its safe custody.)

Subject.....Information.....
.....

Date: November 16, 1920.

C.I., Nenagh

A man named Baker, who is employed in the Dublin Tramways, has just returned from Thurles, and has furnished Griffiths with sworn statements of outrages committed by Black and Tans in Tipperary.

He has relations in Thurles, and it is suggested that they should be "looked up." This should be done as discreetly as possible. Perhaps the police know something of these people, and should act according to the best of their judgment, and report result of search if such be made.

L. Cheesman,
C.I. for D.I.G.

Report to November, 1920, of Cooperative Creameries and Other Societies Stated to Have Been Destroyed or Damaged by Armed Forces of the Crown

[The cases investigated by the Commission are marked with an asterisk (*)]

(1)
April 9, 1920
REARCROSS COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

Rearcross C.C.—a central creamery. Stated to have been burned by police and soldiers; machinery broken by police previous day; property completely destroyed.

Direct personal evidence given.

Claim for £5,000 lodged in county court; damages amounting to £1,100 (buildings, £800; loss in trade, £300) awarded. Compensation for machinery was refused, as it was not a separate claim of which notice was given within three days, in accordance with Malicious Injuries Act.

Creamery appealed against decision, and was awarded a further sum of £1,200 for machinery destroyed, with costs.

This was the first cooperative creamery attacked in Ireland.

Trade turnover, 1918, £7,858.

(2)
April 10, 1920
REISKA, CO. TIPPERARY

Reiska—an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Upperchurch Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society, Co. Tipperary.

Stated to have been damaged by police and soldiers; machinery smashed and premises injured.

Direct personal evidence given at county court.

An award of £800, including consequential damage, was given against the county.

County Court Judge Moore expressed the view that Crown ought to pay the amount.

This creamery was later entirely destroyed (*see* Reiska, August 10).

See also Upperchurch, July 31.

(3)
April 10, 1920
KNOCKFUNE COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

Knockfune C.A. & D.S.—an independent auxiliary creamery society supplying cream to Newport C.A. & D.S. for churning.

Stated to have been damaged by military and police; machinery smashed and premises injured.

Direct personal evidence available.

This creamery was later entirely destroyed (*see* Knockfune, July 29).

See also Newport C.A. & D. S., July 23.

Trade turnover, 1918, £6,581.

(4)
April 10, 1920
KILCOMMON COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

Kilcommon C.C.—a central creamery

Stated to have been damaged by military and police; machinery smashed, premises injured, and goods destroyed and stolen.

Direct personal evidence given.

Damages amounting to £493, with costs and expenses, awarded at county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £15,496.

(5)
April 14, 1920
KILLONAN, CO. LIMERICK

Killonan—an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Drombanna Cooperative Creamery, Co. Limerick.

Stated to have been fired by military and police.

Damage estimated at £1,032.

Direct personal evidence available.

(6)
July 23, 1920
NEWPORT COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

Newport C.C.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by military; buildings, machinery, and stocks destroyed.

Direct personal evidence given.

Claim for £20,000 lodged in county court. Creamery awarded £12,339, including interest at 6 per cent for one and a half years on value of stock, buildings, and machinery. Also 15 per cent was allowed for increase in price of machinery. (*See* Knockfune, April 10 and July 29.)

Trade turnover, 1918, £34,765.

(7)
July 25, 1920
GARRYSPILLANE COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. LIMERICK

Garryspillane C.C.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by police and military.

Evidence mainly circumstantial.

Claim for £10,000 lodged in county court. Award given for £5,420.

Trade turnover, 1918, £20,966.

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(8)

July 29, 1920

KNOCKFUNE COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

KNOCKFUNE C.A. & D.S.—an independent auxiliary creamery society supplying cream to Newport C.A. & D.S. for churning.

Stated to have been destroyed by fire by Crown forces.

Direct personal evidence given.

Damages awarded by county court judge amounting to £3,965.

This was the second attack upon this creamery. The central creamery at Newport, to which it sent its cream for churning, was destroyed on July 23. (*See* Knockfune, April 10. *See* Newport, July 23.)

(9)

July 31, 1920

UPPERCHURCH COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

UPPERCHURCH C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by Crown forces.

Evidence partly personal, but mainly circumstantial.

Claim for £20,000 lodged in county court. Award made for £8,749 at Nenagh, October quarter sessions.

This society owned Reiska auxiliary, which was attacked on April 10, and, in a subsequent attack on August 10, was entirely destroyed.

Trade turnover, 1918, £20,884.

(10)

August 6, 1920

LOUGHMORE, CO. TIPPERARY

LOUGHMORE—an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Centenary C.D.S., Co. Tipperary.

Stated to have been totally destroyed by fire supposed to have been started by military and police.

Evidence circumstantial.

County court judge awarded damages, £3,581.

Littleton, another auxiliary belonging to Centenary C.D.S., was burned on October 31.

(11)

August 6, 1920

FOYNES COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, CO. LIMERICK

*FOYNES C.A.S.—a cooperative society doing a general store business.

Premises burned; stock and books destroyed.

Presumptive evidence against police, who did not assist villagers to put out fire.

County court judge awarded compensation, £5,100.

The village hall was burned down a few nights previously.

(12)

August 10, 1920

REISKA, CO. TIPPERARY

REISKA—an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Upperchurch Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society, Co. Tipperary.

Completely destroyed by fire. Stated to have been attacked by police and military.

County court judge awarded £729.

Evidence given partly personal, but mainly circumstantial.

This was the second attack upon this creamery. The society had repaired the damage done in first attack. On July 31 the central creamery, to which Reiska belonged, was totally destroyed by fire. (*See* Reiska, April 10. *See* Upperchurch, July 31.)

(13)

August 16, 1920

TEMPLEREE AND CASTLEINEY COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

TEMPLEREE AND CASTLEINEY C.A. & D.S.—an independent auxiliary creamery society supplying cream to Ballyduag Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society for churning.

Creamery bombed and machinery and books ruined. Later the premises were fired, petrol being used.

Personal evidence given to show that the damage was done by Crown forces. County court judge awarded £1,578 in this case.

Trade turnover, 1918, £10,759.

(14)

August 17, 1920

KILLEA COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

KILLEA, C.D.S.—an independent auxiliary creamery supplying cream to Ballyduag Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society for churning.

Burned down. Presumptive evidence against Crown forces.

Compensation, £3,182, awarded by county court judge.

Trade turnover, 1918, £6,588.

(15)

August 27, 1920

SHANAGOLDEN COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. LIMERICK

*SHANAGOLDEN C.D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by police.

Direct personal evidence.

Claim for £12,000 lodged with county court, and award for that amount given.

Trade turnover, 1918, £30,908.

(16)

September 8, 1920

NEWCASTLE WEST COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. LIMERICK

NEWCASTLE WEST C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Damaged by fire, stated to have been started by Crown forces.

Direct personal evidence.

Claim for £1,900 lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £35,569.

(17)

September 15, 1920

SILVERMINES COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. TIPPERARY

SILVERMINES C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Supposed to have been burned by military.

Evidence presumptive.

Claim lodged for £3,000.

Trade turnover, 1918, £8,452.

(18)

September 18, 1920

DEVON ROAD COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. LIMERICK

DEVON ROAD C.C.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by police and military, who commandeered petrol from creamery manager's premises adjacent.

Direct personal evidence.

Claim for £2,000 lodged, and compensation for that amount awarded.

Trade turnover, 1918, £42,504.

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(19)

October 1, 1920

TUBBERCURRY COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. SLIGO

*Tubbercurry C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been attacked by police; machinery smashed, then premises set on fire and completely destroyed. Manager's house (occupied by his wife and three children) fired into repeatedly. Manager shot at.

Direct personal evidence.

Claim for £16,900 lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £15,656.

(20)

October 1, 1920

ACHONRY COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. SLIGO

*Achonry C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery with general store and small bacon factory.

This society is stated to have been attacked on the same night as was Tubbercurry C.A. & D.S., by police. The general store and creamery were burned, but most of the machinery of the latter was saved by neighbors. The bacon factory was not injured.

The evidence in this case is direct.

Damages first estimated at £3,500, but as debris is being removed further damage is coming to light.

Trade turnover, 1918, £45,070.

(21)

October 7, 1920

NEW ROSS COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, CO. WEXFORD

New Ross C.A.S.—a general cooperative society. Cushinstown Hall is one of a number of halls erected throughout the country out of a bequest left by Gertrude, Countess of Pembroke, and which have been vested in cooperative societies for administrative ends. These halls are used for educational and social purposes of all sorts, and have been found valuable accessories to the cooperative movement.

Soldiers are stated to have held up about fifteen men present at 9 p.m., smashed scenery and stage fittings, burst open presses, and smashed boards out of stage fronts and out of wall and floor with a pickaxe, and then fired shots over the hall when leaving.

An estimate has been obtained for the repairs, and a bill for same has been sent to Sir Nevill Macready.

(22)

October 8, 1920

BANTEER COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. CORK

Banteer, C.C.—a central creamery.

Creamery fired into, windows broken, walls perforated, eave chutes broken, etc. Damage supposed to have been done by military. Cause unknown.

Evidence purely presumptive.

Claim for £50 lodged with military authorities.

Trade turnover, 1918, £10,098.

(23)

October 9, 1920

KILDIMO COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. LIMERICK

Kildimo C.D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been set on fire by Crown forces. Separators and milk tester destroyed; other machinery severely injured; roof completely burned, also some interior woodwork.

Damages estimated at £2,000, and a claim for that amount has been lodged.

Evidence is direct and personal, but witnesses profess themselves afraid to go into court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £13,274.

(24)

October 9, 1920

GRANGE COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. LIMERICK

Grange C.D.S.—a central creamery.

Creamery twice attacked, presumably by Government forces. Damage (estimated at £80) was slight. A bicycle, a clock, fifty-six pounds of lard, and one hundred pounds of butter were taken away.

Trade turnover, 1918, £35,234.

(25)

October 11, 1920

HOSPITAL COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. LIMERICK

Hospital C.C.—a central creamery.

Creamery premises set on fire; coal store and galvanized iron store burned down. Stated to have been done by Crown forces. Cause unknown.

Evidence, so far, indefinite.

Claim for £720 lodged with county court. Compensation, £641 3s. 10d., and costs allowed.

Trade turnover, 1918, £26,466.

(26)

October 18, 1920

ABBEYDORNEY COOPERATIVE DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. KERRY

*Abbeydorney C.D.S.—a central creamery.

Premises stated to have been burned by police. Store burned beyond recovery. Main creamery saved by exertions of staff and neighbors. No motive can be assigned for this attack. Manager struck on the head with clubbed rifle. Assistant manager also assaulted. Five 56-lb. boxes of butter, fifty-six 1-lb. rolls of butter, and two 80-lb. cheeses were taken by the police.

Damage estimated at £2,000.

On November 11 the residence of the manager (the property of the society) was burned to the ground by armed, disguised men. (*See* Abbeydorney, November 11.)

Trade turnover, 1918, £31,806.

(27)

October 18, 1920

MOYCULLEN COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, CO. GALWAY

Moycullen C.A.S.—a general store society.

Soldiers and police visited this society, stripped and flogged two assistants, and shot the manager in the neck.

Police broke into this society on September 30 and stole some goods. Three soldiers burgled the place later and took about £30 worth of goods.

No claims have been made in these cases, as it is feared worse might happen if they were lodged.

Trade turnover, 1918, £16,859.

(28)

October 25, 1920

LIXNAW COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. KERRY

Lixnaw C.C.—a central creamery.

Set on fire after drenching with petrol, it is believed, by police. Office and cheese room destroyed; also main roof of building. Stocks of cheese lost, and also some butter.

Evidence presumptive and circumstantial, but strong.

Damage to machinery estimated at £965; buildings, £1,521 12s. 4d. Comprehensive claim for £10,000 lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £40,971.

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(29)

October 27, 1920

BALLINTRILLICK COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. SLIGO

BALLINTRILLICK C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been burned by Crown forces. Threat made to shoot manager. Store and office completely destroyed, with all stocks. Roof burned, also churn. Pasteurizer thrown into river; safe destroyed. Bulk of machinery escaped marvellously, but all pipes, rubber connections, and beltings severely damaged.

The windows of the manager's house (the property of the society) were broken, front and rear.

Direct personal evidence of manager and others.

A claim for £18,500 has been lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £31,219.

(30)

October 31, 1920

LITTLETON AUXILIARY CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

LITTLETON—an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Centenary Cooperative Creamery, Co. Tipperary.

Creamery burned and totally destroyed by military and police.

Direct personal evidence available.

Claim for £5,000 lodged with county court.

(31)

November 3, 1920

BALLYMOTE COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. SLIGO

BALLYMOTE C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery doing a butter business of over £30,000 per annum.

Creamery, offices, and stores burned, with all stocks of butter.

According to press reports completely destroyed by Crown forces.

Claim for £25,000 lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £32,206.

(32)

November 4, 1920

NENAGH COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

NENAGH C.C.—a central creamery.

Creamery burned to ashes. Amount of damage as yet unascertained.

No statement as to perpetrators yet beyond press reports that fire was caused by Crown forces.

Comprehensive claim for £20,000 lodged with county courts.

Trade turnover, 1918, £39,587.

(33)

November 5, 1920

ARDFERT COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. KERRY

ARDFERT C.C.—a central creamery.

Creamery searched by police and military. Horse belonging to creamery, which was in its stable with door locked, was wounded by shots fired through lock. Horse afterwards shot.

Claim for £70 lodged with county court.

Trade turnover, 1918, £37,812.

(34)

November 8, 1920

MILFORD COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. CORK

MILFORD C.C.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been attacked by Crown forces. Creamery entered forcibly, fire set to barrels of separator and machinery oils. Cast-iron bars of boiler wrecked by bomb; a live bomb with wire attached to pin of same was placed across a walking passage used by staff. This was later discovered and removed, and given up to District Inspector R. I. C. In the general stores oil was run off from barrels over cheese crates, egg crates, and straw packing for eggs, and all set on fire. The egg store was similarly treated. Cheese to the value of £1,000 was damaged by smoke and heat, and later from water used to quench and confine conflagration.

There is direct personal evidence.

A claim for £4,000 has been lodged with the local authority.

Trade turnover, 1918, £74,060.

(35)

November 9, 1920

MARYBORO' COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, QUEENS CO.

MARYBORO' C.A.S.—a general store society.

Bomb, believed to be a Mills', exploded in window. A live bomb was found on pavement outside the shop window.

The local R. I. C. have done their best to discover perpetrators.

No witnesses; motive and perpetrators unknown.

No motive suggested. Excellent relations between police, military, and people.

Claim for £30 compensation has been lodged with county court.

(36)

November 11, 1920

ABBEYDORNEY COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. KERRY

*ABBEYDORNEY C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Manager wired I. A. O. S. on November 12: "Abbeydorney manager's residence burned to ground yesterday evening, 5.30, by armed, disguised men."

Damages estimated at £800.

This creamery is stated to have been attacked on October 18 by police, the creamery and other buildings fired, manager assaulted, and considerable property stolen. (*See* Abbeydorney, October 18.)

(37)

November 13, 1920

BALLYMACELLIGOTT COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL AND DAIRY SOCIETY, CO. KERRY

*BALLYMACELLIGOTT C.A. & D.S.—a central creamery.

Stated to have been attacked by military and police. Creamery burned.

Trade turnover, 1918, £38,160.

(38)

November 18, 1920

CLOUGHANEELY COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, CO. DONEGAL

CLOUGHANEELY C.A.S.—a general store society.

No details.

Press report says stores destroyed by fire caused by men stated to have been wearing uniform.

(39)

November 21, 1920

DUHARRA COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. TIPPERARY

DUHARRA C.C.—an independent auxiliary creamery supplying cream to Nenagh C.C. for churning.

Manager wired to I.A.O.S. on November 22: "Creamery burned to ashes last night." Press report of November 23 damage is alleged to have been done by uniformed men.

Estimated damage, £12,000.

(*See* Nenagh Creamery, November 4.)

Trade turnover, 1918, £14,852.

(40)

November 26, 1920

RAHEEN WORKERS' SOCIETY, CO. CLARE

RAHEEN WORKERS' SOCIETY—a general store society.

Store looted.

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(41)

November 27, 1920

MILFORD COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. CORK

MILFORD C.C.—a central creamery.

Manager wired: "Flour mill, engine room, office, and butter burned on Saturday morning." Later report says mill and office completely burned out. Machines a heap of debris. Large quantities of grain destroyed. Fifty boxes of butter burned.

Personal evidence to prove fire was started by Crown forces.

This is the second attack (*see* November 8).

Claim for £12,000 compensation lodged.

(42)

November 27, 1920

CARNADOE COOPERATIVE CREAMERY, CO. ROSCOMMON

CARNADOE C.C.—a central creamery.

Manager wired on November 28: "Creamery burned down on Friday night."

Supposed to be reprisal for kidnapping two constables at Rooskey, four miles away.

Trade turnover, 1918, £9,011.

SHOOTING IN COLD BLOOD

[The following statement, sworn before a solicitor, is made by an educated man who was seriously wounded but has since recovered.

This case was not investigated by the Commission.]

I, A——— B———, of ———, ———, do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. During the early hours of Tuesday, October 12, I heard violent knocking at my hall door. I got out of bed and went downstairs without waiting to dress. I opened the door and was immediately confronted by a number of military officers in uniform. They inquired who was in the house. One of them asked me where was a certain man whom he named, and I said he was not living for some time past. They then made inquiries about two other men, after which they rushed upstairs, leaving me downstairs in the hall in charge of an armed guard.

2. The moment they went upstairs firing started which lasted for some time. Immediately the firing ceased I was marched upstairs by an officer, who kept a revolver pressed against my back. I was brought into the front room, where I saw a man in uniform lying on the floor, apparently dead. I was then brought out on the landing to the door of the back room, which was open, and I was able to see that there was no person in the room.

3. One of the officers who was with me then went into the back room, and I was told to turn my back towards him, which I did. I immediately heard the report of a shot, and was shot through the back of the neck. I fell on my face on top of a man who was lying apparently dead on the landing. I was unable to move but quite conscious.

4. I tried to call my wife, and heard one of the officers say to the other: "I thought he was dead."

5. While I was in the hall downstairs, as stated in Paragraph 1, I heard the men who had been staying at the back bedroom jumping through the glass roof of the conservatory.

6. I positively state that at the time I was shot there was no person other than the military officers either on the landing or in the back bedroom.

7. The officers had been threatening to shoot me, both in the hall downstairs and while I was being brought upstairs.

A THREAT BY BLACK AND TANS

[The following copy of a letter is an example of the threats made to shopkeepers who refuse, or are alleged to have refused, to supply goods to members of the Crown forces.]

Sir: It has come to our notice that your men have refused to deliver goods to the R. I. C. This conduct cannot be allowed, and will have to cease. You are now warned that from and after this date you will be held responsible that any orders received from R. I. C. will be at once attended to. Failing this, you will incur a serious responsibility. YOU UNDERSTAND. Send along the names of your men who refuse to the undersigned and they will also be dealt with.

Mr. ———— "BLACK AND TANS."

LETTERS FROM IRISH TRADE UNIONISTS

[The following letters will be of interest to British trade unionists. They were all addressed to the headquarters of various unions and supplied by the latter to the Commission.]

Copy of letter from the local secretary of the ———— Union at ———— to head office.

November, 1920.

During last week military and police in ———— set fire to and wrecked several houses in ————. They smashed the windows and doors of the Trade Union Hall, then entered the hall and destroyed tables, chairs, and presses. They smashed the press, wherein all books, letters, and receipts of the ———— Branch were held. They scattered them about the hall and destroyed some of the books, and they took the labor flag from the hall and threw it into one of the burning buildings.

As up to the present time things are not quiet I cannot know what books I may require, as some of the books have been saved. People have left the town are only now returning, all work was suspended for three or four days.

I have not collected any contributions since Sunday week, and we are deprived of our hall, and the members cannot assemble anywhere to pay their contributions. However, things may be quiet here before Sunday.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) ————

Letter from the secretary of the ———— Union Branch at ———— to head office.

November 8, 1920.

While a meeting of the central committee of the above branch was taking place at ———— on Sunday, —— ————, a party of police and military raided the room where the delegates were assembled. They searched each delegate and carefully examined all the ———— Union papers and books. Unfortunately I was carrying the local fund of the branch with me, which amounted to £33 10s., and this was examined also. I explained the money was belonging to the ———— Union, and they put it down on the table.

They rushed us all out of the room to be lined up on the road for arrest. This I think was only a pretext, because they drove off without arresting anyone, and when they were gone and the confusion over it was discovered that the money was also gone. The explanation that our meeting was purely in connection with trade union business only seemed to heighten their suspicions that we were a collection of seditious individuals, and some of us were handled roughly by the police.

Fraternally yours

(Signed) ————

Secretary.

Letter from Mr. ———, president of ——— Union Branch, ———, to the general secretary.

I got your letter this morning and, needless to say, I am glad you took such satisfactory steps in connection with my arrest. As regards my torture after my arrest, I give the following details, and gave the same statement to the authorities in ——— during my imprisonment:

I was arrested at eight o'clock in the morning and walked about one and a quarter miles to the barracks. During the journey shots were fired at every side trying to terrorize me, but I kept firm. After arriving, I was put in under a stairway and the soldiers were like thunder up and down over my head. After some time I was taken to the kitchen and ordered to cut

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onions for their dinner, which I refused. The sergeant in charge ordered one of the men to get his rifle; still I refused, and asked for the officer. One of the men went to the officer and came back with a bayonet. Still I refused, and after four or five stabs had to comply with their request, as I got one bad stab. I am sure I would have got more, but I told them I would report to Colonel ———— in ————, which I did, and he sent the doctor to me on that night. The soldiers in ———— were nice to me, and also in ————, where I was detained for a night on my way to ————. The officer here has been changed since, and the present officer is a good man. Two soldiers were here on Friday evening and were late going back. They informed their officer that I waylaid them on the way with some others, which is not true. They wanted to re-arrest me, but the officer would not heed them. If the other officer was there I expect I would be down in ————. Again, one of these soldiers admitted he was in the driving of ————'s sheep to ————, also the officer at the time, a Mr. ————. I have not gone by the barrack since, as, if the officer was not there, I am sure I would get another hand.

It would be well if you could find out if ———— was responsible for my arrest, also if he could be made to pay compensation. There was about £30 of goods taken from my house by the soldiers; some of the articles I saw with them when arrested. Give me any instructions you can about the recovery of same.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) ————

Letter from the secretary of the ———— Branch of the ———— Union to the head office.

November 8, 1920.

The military have made a raid on my house and smashed it up and broke it to atoms, and also took away with them all books, stationery, and letters belonging to the ———— Union. As we had no hall or place for them I kept them in the house. Please let me know by return what I will do for them. It is five or six weeks since any money was collected, as the military hunted our members from the hall every time they went into it. We had made arrangements to have it collected next week.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) ————

Secretary.

Copy of a private letter from a worker's wife in Balbriggan to a trade union official.

October 6, 1920.

Just a line to let you know we are still alive, but don't know the minute. I would have written before, only we are expecting a raid every night, and you cannot settle yourself to do anything. The other night a crowd of the Black and Tans came in and posted bills on all the doors. They got on terrible, shouting and knocking the people up, and I needn't tell you their language was lovely. The poor people are all terrified out of their lives. Last night they came along shouting. One of their men was shot. They turned all the people out of their houses in ————, and they had to stay in the fields all night, and you know the night it was. They arrested one boy about fourteen, and said they saw him standing by when their chum was fired at. They kept the kid all night, and this morning when the fellow got sober enough he told them the revolver went off in his pocket. So you see, if one of them happens to meet with an accident we have to suffer. They are even shooting the dogs in the street. I wonder how it will all end. There comes quite a crowd from all parts to see the ruins. You ought to come this week-end if it is anyway fine, but this is a miserable place when it is raining, and now it is even worse, for people are afraid to go out. I wish the weather would take up, things are bad enough without bad weather. If you think you will come, drop a p.c.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ————

Victimization of Policemen's Wives and Barrack Servants

[The following statements are a selection from a number of police reports supplied to the Commission by the police authorities. Only the names of persons and places have been deleted. None of the cases referred to have been investigated by the Commission.]

December 27, 1919

Thirty masked and armed men came to the evacuated huts at —— and burned them. The sergeant's wife and her sister resided in one section of the hut. The raiders gave them five minutes to clear out, and they were not allowed to take anything away, and prevented the two women leaving either for —— or ——. The neighbors refused them admittance, thus compelling them to remain in the little wash-house all night and until 11 a. m. the following day, where they were found by the District Inspector and party who investigated the outrage.

May 24, 1920

Mrs. ——, who is employed as barrack servant, was warned by two masked and armed men who entered her house that it was against the rules of the I.R.A. to work for the R.I.C., and that if she continued her hair would be cut off.

May 22, 1920

Mrs. ——, who was barrack servant at the R.I.C. barracks, ——, had to leave her employment through being terrorized by receiving a threatening letter to leave her employment at once.

April 16, 1920

An armed party visited the house of the Misses —— and took the two girls out in their night attire. They were marched some distance and a court-martial held on them "for walking with the Peelers." They were sentenced to be shot, but it was mitigated and their hair cut off instead.

The motive for this outrage was that these two girls were on friendly terms with the younger members of the R.I.C. at ——.

August 7, 1920

Four men entered the house of an injured person. Two of them seized her by the hands and feet while another put his hands over her mouth. They then put three pig rings into her buttocks with pincers. She had been supplying the police with milk.

August 10, 1920

Injured person's hair was cut off because she was keeping company with a policeman.

July 21, 1920

Injured person received a letter stating that if she continued in the employment of the police the I.R.A. would take steps to have her removed from the locality.

September 5, 1920

Seven or eight masked men entered the house of injured person, forcibly removed her outside, and cut her hair off. She was a barrack servant, and had been previously warned to leave police employment.

August 10, 1920

Injured person was made swear on oath that she would cease working for police.

September 11, 1920—10:30 P. M.

—— —— was taken from her lodgings by armed and masked men, gagged, and taken to a field where her hair was cut off, and she was kicked in the body. She was employed as a barrack servant, where her predecessor had left owing to the boycott of the police.

May 12, 1920

Sergeant ——, who occupied —— vacated police barrack, heard knocking at the door and refused admission on demand of raiders, who then started breaking the windows and were ad-

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mitted. Fourteen raiders entered and marched the sergeant out of the building and made him face a wall while the raiders proceeded to remove his four children to a neighboring house. One of the children was ill with influenza, but the raiders said she must be removed as these were times when many were suffering. They then set the barracks on fire.

June 15, 1920

Fifty armed men—some with rifles, others with shot guns, and others with faces blackened and disguised—called at Mrs. ——'s (wife of Constable ——) house and ordered her and six children out of their house. They were marched to the house of —— ——, who was warned by the raiders to keep her for the night. They then returned to the house, set fire to it, and with furniture and bedding it was completely destroyed.

June 13, 1920

A party of twenty armed and disguised men forced open the door of Miss ——'s house, seized her, knocked her down, and cut off her hair with a tailor's scissors.

The raiders then visited the house of Miss ——, and cut off her hair and warned her not to have any more to do with the police.

The motive for this outrage is that these girls are friendly disposed towards police.

April 16, 1920

Mrs. ——, who is a policeman's widow, received a threatening letter stating if she took Mrs. —— (a sergeant's wife) in as a lodger her house would be burned and she would get the death of Mrs. ——. (This is the woman who was shot through the heart by Sinn Feiners in a raid for arms in Co. ——.)

June 25, 1920

A party of about twenty armed and disguised men entered the house of Mrs. —— (a policeman's wife), seized herself and four children who were under six years of age, and put them out on the road. The furniture was then put out. Being raining at the time, Mrs. —— sought refuge at the local post office, but the raiders informed her she would not be allowed to remain in the parish another night. She had then to cycle to —— wet through, in a deplorable condition, where her husband was stationed.

Police Reports of an Attack upon Women

[The two following police documents, which came into the hands of the Commission from unofficial sources, relate to a case into which we inquired. Evidence obtained by the Commission may conveniently preface the police reports.]

The case is that of Miss A—— B—— and her sister, Mrs. C—— D——, who live at —— Road.

On the front of the house is its name very prominently in Gaelic. About 2 a. m. on October 26 they were alarmed by the crashing of their front room windows, which they afterwards found had been done with bullets which they picked up in the room. Nothing more took place.

On November 1 they went to bed about 11 p. m. At about 12:30 they heard a noise in the yard and a knocking at the door. They rushed downstairs and saw three men at the door. Two of them armed with revolvers rushed in, saying they were officers, but they were in civilian clothes. When in the house the men, who were hopelessly drunk, said they were Black and Tans. Miss A—— B—— says she was afraid of the second man, and watched him carefully. She then tried to knock the revolver out of his hand, but he became violent. Miss A—— B—— and the man struggled, and ultimately he fell on his back in the front room, the woman still holding the hand in which was the weapon. It was fired, and the shots entered the wall. The man who was down called to the other, whose hand was held by Mrs. C—— D——, to "Shoot, Bobby." A third man did shoot, and the bullet passed over the heads of "Bobby" and Mrs. C—— D——. At this moment, Miss A—— B—— ran out of the front door and Mrs. C—— D—— out of the back. Shots were fired at them, but they were not hit. Miss A—— B—— went along the street and saw two policemen. She asked them to come to —— Road as there was murder going on, but just previously she had screamed and shouted "murder" and no one came. The policemen said they would come in a minute or so, but they did not come, and when she got back her sister was absent, Mrs. C—— D—— having gone to ask another policeman to come, who refused. She called at Mrs. ——'s. Miss A—— B—— then went to the barracks and brought some police back with her. On the way they passed one and then another man crawling alongside the barrack wall, one of them having nothing on his head.

At the house the police picked up a cap and bullets and took them away, and since then the women have been to the barracks and identified "Bobby."

Two weeks ago an officer called and said the men were belonging to the ——, and would be court-martialed. He said that the women would be informed, but they have not heard anything since.

POLICE REPORT (No. 1)

D Division,
Bridewell Station,
November 1, 1920.

Three Men enter —— —— Road and Fire Shots

I beg to report that at 1:40 a. m., 1st inst., Constable —— telephoned to Bridewell Station from —— Street Barracks, stating that a short time previously a woman, who declined to give her name, called at the barracks and told the constable that there was some trouble in —— Road.

On receipt of the message, Constables —— and —— were sent at once to the place, and soon afterwards Sergeant —— and I went there, and after patrolling the road saw light in the house —— —— Road.

On making inquiries there we were informed by Miss A—— B—— that, at about 12:30 a. m., while in bed, she heard a knock at the back door, and on coming downstairs asked who was there. "We are Black and Tans." She opened the door, and three men in civilian garb entered, each holding a revolver in his hand. On asking what they wanted, one replied, "We came for arms," and on being told that there were none in the house one of them entered the drawing room and got into handgrips with Miss A—— B——; in the struggle both fell. He asked her to surrender and he would give her the revolver. At the same time a shot went off, she believed accidentally, the bullet penetrating the wall separating room from hall. She then ran out by front door for the police; when leaving, a shot was fired after her.

C—— D——, sister, who was in the house at the time, stated that, after the three men were admitted, she left by back door and went to —— Street Barracks for assistance. A shot was also fired after her. E—— F——, housekeeper, corroborated above statements.

Both Mrs. C—— D—— and her sister describe the men as being like military officers, and heavily under the influence of drink. They would know them again.

Constables —— and ——, who were on duty at Sergeant ——'s, about 500 yards away, state that at about 12:30 a. m. they heard shots being fired in the direction of —— Lane, some of the bullets whizzing past them. Believing that they were being fired by the military at —— Barracks, they went towards the barracks, and on their way they heard a woman shouting and screaming "murder."

Outside —— they met a party of military with Lieut. G—— (name of regiment given). He inquired about the shots. The constables then told him about the woman screaming at —— Road, and asked them to accompany them there. In starting from ——, a man dressed in civilian garb was seen approaching; he was halted by the sentry and searched, and in his possession was found a Webley service revolver and twenty-one rounds of ammunition. In the revolver were five spent and one live cartridge. He was brought into the guardroom. On coming along

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—— Lane another man was halted by military and searched; he had a service revolver with four spent cartridges in it. He was also placed in the guardroom.

The constables, who were still accompanied by the party of military, soon afterwards met Miss A—— B——, who made a similar statement to the one made to me, and they accompanied her back to the house.

On the footway outside the house, Constable ———— picked up two spent revolver cartridges. They then returned to the ———— Barracks, and asked Lieut. G——— the names of the men detained in the guardroom. He said that they were officers belonging to the ————, ———— Barracks, but would not disclose their names. In the meantime he interviewed the adjutant, requested that the matter would be kept confidential, and would make further inquiries and report to the police in the morning.

Privates ———— and ————, who were sentry duty at ———— Barracks gate, stated that at about twelve midnight they saw four men in civilian clothes leaving the barracks, and soon afterwards heard reports of shots being fired. A party of military, under Lieut. G———, turned out, and this was the party who, with the constables, stopped and searched the two men mentioned and accompanied them to —— ———— Road.

On examination of the premises I found a bullet mark in the wall of the drawing room, about two feet from the floor, and on the footway outside the gate I found three empty revolver cartridge cases.

The three ladies already mentioned appeared to be much agitated and excited by their experience, especially as the house had been fired into on the morning of the 26th ult., as already reported.

I, with the sergeant and a number of police, searched the locality, but found no trace of any other person about, as the military were reticent about the persons they had in custody in the guardroom. I was unable to interview them or to get any information as to who they were.

(Signed) ————(Station Sergeant)
———— (Superintendent)

Cases of Assault and Brutality

[The following affidavits refer to cases not investigated by the Commission.]

(I)

I, ———— ———— of ————, in the county of ————, ————, aged twenty-one years and upwards, make oath and say as follows:

On Monday, October 4, 1920, I was walking along the public road at ————. A lorry passed me out on the road, which was full of policemen. As the lorry was passing me, one of the policemen on the lorry hit me a blow on the left jaw and tumbled me on the road. I had done nothing then, or at any other time, to this policeman or to any other policeman to in any way justify or give any provocation for this attack.

(Signed) ————

II

I was arrested on October 21 by military under the command of an officer. On being searched a dispatch was found in my possession, and on refusing to give any particulars about it, I was struck in the face and knocked down by two soldiers while their officer looked on. Blood flowed freely from my mouth, and I was hurried away to town of ———— to the military quarters. On my way there I was kicked twice by the officer. On arriving at ———— I was stripped naked, being told that my body was to be examined for bullet marks. They found none, and I dressed as best I could. The officer then offered me rum, but I refused, telling him I did not drink. At this refusal the most vile language was used, and they told me I would drink in spite of myself. Two knives were then produced and the handles placed at each side of my mouth, which was still bleeding. The rum was then thrown into my mouth. I threw it out again as much as possible, my shirt getting soaked with blood and rum. At times the officer, who was master of ceremonies, gave permission to one of the soldiers to give me what he termed "the kidney punch." I was again questioned as to particulars of the dispatch, but refused to give any information. The officer then ordered that I be taken out into the yard to be finished off. I asked him to give me my beads, but this request was the cause of great laughter on his part. He remarked that there were two priests up the village who were under the influence of drink, and that perhaps they would drop in. When I heard this I asked him for pity's sake to have done and shoot me. He said he had another treatment besides shooting, remarking that shooting was too easy a death. I told him he had not pluck enough to shoot. He then ordered two soldiers to bind my hands and feet. When this was done he poured petrol on my bare head and chest. Between my feet a bundle of hay was placed, and, having been sprinkled with petrol, was set alight. The flames caught my face and chest and I suffered terrible agony. I was again questioned, and again refused. I was then relieved of my bonds, and, after being struck several times on the head and face, I was thrown into an old cell and left there. During the night I had a narrow escape. A soldier, the worse for drink and using terrible language, came in my direction. He had a revolver. He was arrested in time and forcibly removed by his companions. In the morning, with a face badly swollen, I was removed to ———— Police Station, ————. At ————, on the way, a Black and Tan swung a heavy coat and struck me in the face. I was left in a cell in the barracks for twenty-four hours, in unsanitary conditions, and was allowed but one meal. Here I was told I was a fool to be led astray by others, and the most vile language was used against De Valera and his followers. I was then removed to the county gaol. I am prepared to swear before any tribunal that this statement is the truth, and I can also identify the officer and two soldiers who maltreated me at ———— military quarters.

(Signed) ————

III

On the evening of September 20, 1920, at about 10:30, I arrived at my home and, after ten minutes' conversation with my people, I retired to my bedroom; it was then about 10:45 p.m. When I had been asleep for some time I was awakened by my father and sister and was told to dress. While dressing, my three sisters and my mother came into the room; the room was also occupied by my two brothers. I heard three rifle volleys discharged somewhere on the street outside the house; I understood that it was about 11:30 at the time. When I was almost dressed, being only without my boots, I heard the crashing of the glass in the front shop windows, the shutters having been removed. About two or three minutes afterwards the door of the room was opened and about eight men, dressed in the uniform of the R. I. C. and carrying rifles without bayonets, stood at the door and shouted, "Come out." My mother, who was agitated at the time, cried out to them, "Spare the children," being answered with the cry, "You did not spare the D. I.," presumably referring to the R. I. C. officer who was shot that night in ————. One of the men, advancing, caught my father by the arm, but my mother clung to him, being almost hysterical at the time. I told her to let him go as I thought nothing would happen to him. She released him, and he was pulled away by the uniformed men and I did not see him again that night. Three or four more men who had remained behind came forward into the room, and catching my younger brother John, who is aged about fifteen years, by the arm said: "This is the boy we want." I immediately stepped forward and said: "If you are looking for anyone it is I, not the child." Thereupon, one of the men seized me by the arm, and my mother, brothers, and sisters left the room. One of the uniformed men then flashed what appeared to be an oil lamp in my eyes, with the apparent object of temporarily blinding me. Another then struck me on the face with his fist, and releasing the other man's grip I ran to the bed and lay face downwards, with the

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object of saving my face. The men followed me across the room and, raising the butts of their rifles, struck me several times on the back of the head. Then one of them caught me by the arm and turned me over and struck me several times on the top of my head and once on the upper lip also with the butt of his rifle. I implored them to shoot me, and one man answered, "Shooting is too good for a —— like you," using a terrible oath, and accompanying his remark with a blow over the left eye with the butt of his rifle. I then became unconscious and remembered no more until I found myself in the yard adjoining the house, having, I believe, stumbled in a semi-conscious state out of the room and down the stairs. When I had regained consciousness I called out for my mother three times, but received no answer. I ran across the yard—the house was in flames at this time—and saw that the gate was open, but on going over to it I was immediately halted by two uniformed men, who held their rifles to my chest. Beating down the rifles with my hands, I ran back to the yard and into the garden adjoining. All this time I was without my boots. . . . I crossed the wall of our yard and made my way out into the fields, and succeeded in gaining shelter in Mr. ————'s cottage at ————. Here I remained until the following morning. . . . In conclusion, I might say that when I had been beaten into an unconscious state in the manner above described, I am firmly convinced that it was the intention of the uniformed men to leave me in the house to be burned to death.

(Signed) ————

Press Notices of Threats by the Crown Forces

[We append examples of notices which have appeared in the press in Ireland, or which have been circulated in certain localities. In some cases the newspaper notices have been inserted as a result of compulsion exercised at the revolver point. The first three notices were issued at Cork; the fourth and fifth were posted up at different places in Tipperary. The last two documents were signed, "Anti-Sinn Fein League."]

I

NOTICE

Constable Ryan kidnapped and his comrade robbed while attending divine service at St. Patrick's Church, Cork, on Sunday, November 21, 1920.

If Constable Ryan is not returned within twenty-four hours, citizens of Cork beware of the consequences.

(Signed) Comrades.

II

NOTICE

We have been requested to publish the following:

ANTI-SINN FEIN SOCIETY

Cork and District Circle

(Membership, 2,000, and still growing)

To all Cork Citizens:

TAKE NOTICE that any householder known to shelter any rebel, or who is known to subscribe to any rebel funds, or to assist in any way the murderous gang of assassins known as Sinn Fein, had better increase his or her fire and life insurance, as it will be needed. It will be wiser than buying spurious Dail Eireann bonds.

Remember 1641
Remember 1798

By order of the Committee,

J. P. H. D., Secretary.

III

KIDNAPPING IN CORK

NOTICE

If Mr. Downey is not returned to his home within fifty-six hours, Cork citizens prepare, especially Sinn Feiners.

Black and Tans.

IV

Male persons with their hands in their pockets have been known to pass R. I. C. men in the streets, and on the country roads, and on passing have produced revolvers, and in doing so have endangered the gallant men's lives. Any male person in town will make himself liable to be shot at sight if he walks about with his hand or hands in his pockets.

Furthermore, the ambush in the Glen has not and will not be forgotten.

Any person or persons refraining from giving information with regard to bad characters, or the knowledge of ambushes in the neighboring country, will be severely dealt with, and *will be liable to be shot without hesitation.*

V

It occurred some time ago that some of our gallant R. I. C. officers of Tipperary were cowardly murdered behind the hedges, not far from Tipperary, by Tipperary murderers. If the ambushes do not cease *forthwith, Tipperary and district will be an ocean of blood,* and you may take this as final warning.

If those cowardly murderers want a good fight they can come out from behind those hedges where they wait day and night to shoot down those innocent men.

It was in *Tipperary town* the murder started in 1919, when two innocent men were shot dead like dogs, and they did not even give them time to say a prayer or prepare to meet their God above. But remember that is not forgotten.

Any person pulling this notice down does so under a *penalty of death* and destruction, and fire will follow.

Any person with his hands in his pockets will be shot at first sight.

[At the bottom of this notice was a rough sketch indicating a skull and cross bones. The two words in italic type above were underlined in the notices.]

Brutal Treatment and Theft

[The following case was investigated by the Commission. The statement given below is a sworn deposition which agrees on all points with the evidence given before the Commission.]

Copy of sworn deposition of Mr. ————, of ————, Cork, concerning a raid by police and military on his residence on ————, 1920.

I was awakened at 2 a.m. on ————, 1920, at my residence, ————, Cork. My wife and myself got up, but before I was able to get downstairs I was accosted by a number of military officers on the lobby outside the bedroom door. Those of them who hadn't mustaches had the upper lip painted black as a disguise. They asked me my name, and kept my wife and myself about ten minutes standing in the cold, practically naked, answering questions as to why I had left my last house and come to live here, etc.

He then allowed me to get my trousers on, and ordered me down to the kitchen. My wife (in her nightdress still) and myself went down to the kitchen where we found soldiers under the direction of an officer tearing up the flooring boards. They emptied the contents of various cupboards on to the floor. They then ordered my wife upstairs. She refused to go as military were upstairs in the bedrooms. She was eventually compelled to go.

An officer picked up a photograph, and, in reply to his questioning, I told him it was a photograph of my little son, nine years old, taken in kilts. He thereupon tore it up in bits and hit me across the face with them, saying, "This is another murder."

He asked was I the man who was employed at the City Hall. I replied, "Yes." He said, "You are the fellow who said we stole your money." I said, "Yes." He kept cross-examining on this point, giving me the impression that he was a man of law. He admitted having raided the City Hall on the occasion under discussion. He asked me, was I a loyalist? I said, "If it's to

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your Crown, I am not." He said, "You are a Republican." I said, "Yes." He took a revolver out of his pocket and placed it to my right temple, and asked me to tell him where Donal O'Callaghan, the deputy, sleeps at night. I said I did not know. He called me a liar, and stated I did know, and that I knew everything going on at the City Hall. He then opened the button of my shirt and placed the muzzle of the revolver against my heart, telling me he was giving me five minutes to divulge the information.

While the revolver was at my heart an officer standing at the corner discharged a shot from a revolver. (It may or may not have been a blank cartridge, as we cannot yet find the bullet.) There was a hearty laugh from the officers and soldiers around at this. It was done presumably to frighten me.

He pressed me hard for some time longer, still keeping the revolver to my heart. It being of no avail, he caught me by the ears and by the hair of my head and shook me. He then kicked me, and told me to get upstairs.

He followed, and asked where my uniform and pipes were. As it was of no use, for I refused to give him the information he desired, he ordered me to dress and to come away with him. They were then about an hour in the house. When dressed and outside the house, I noticed a group of officers some ten yards away, apparently holding a consultation. A young soldier, about seventeen or eighteen years old, took charge of me at this juncture. He placed a rifle to my chest and said, "You b———, if I had my way you would not go in the lorry, I'd finish you now."

On being marched off, this same soldier kept prodding me in the spine from behind (as a result of which I am still sore). This he did all the way to ————, about 150 yards from my house. The party halted there, and the officer who had previously threatened and assaulted me proceeded to start the same all over again. His brother officers tapped him on the shoulders several times and apparently asked him to come away. He eventually called me on one side from them, again giving me a further caution respecting the Republican Army and the pipers' band, stating that all the people of this country will be mown down inside of another twelve months, as they (the Crown forces) intended to finish the business. He then ordered me to get away home.

On arriving home, I first found that they had entered by breaking open the door. They must have done this with some strong instrument, as there was a double lock and two bolts on it. They had taken away the key. I met my wife in the kitchen still undressed. It was then 4 a.m. She appeared quite dazed and could not speak when I addressed her. The kitchen and one back bedroom appeared like refuse heaps. The back garden was also dug up, and articles were missing, which the subjoined list details:

Ten knives; one silver and pearl bread-knife; one butter-knife; three plated spoons; one framed photograph of the murdered Republican Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Thomas MacCurtain; a two-shilling piece; three ordinary life insurance books; one pound of butter; two bars of soap; six boxes of matches; one large tin of boot polish; two ivory-covered prayer-books; one pound of sugar; a shilling toy pistol belonging to my young son; and two pairs of gloves.

The party numbered about sixteen, of whom six were dressed in officers' clothes, one wearing a Glengarry cap.

The Shooting of Prisoners

[The following sworn testimony relates to the shooting of two prisoners, who were alleged by the military to have attempted to escape.]

On ———— morning, ————, 1920, at the hour of 1 a.m., I was awakened by very loud knocking at the door. My brother ———— and myself were sleeping in the one room; we got up and dressed, then came downstairs; my father came down before us and had the door opened. Two policemen, one of whom was Constable ————, of ———— police barracks, and an officer entered. About twenty-five soldiers who accompanied them surrounded the house outside.

A thorough search of the house was proceeded with for about an hour and ten minutes by the officers and a sergeant. The officer then placed my brother and myself under arrest, without charging us with any offense.

We were taken on foot by the entire party to the military headquarters at ————. We were handcuffed there and left in the guardroom until evening, when we were removed about 6 p.m. During the interval we were in the military barracks the handcuffs were kept on us for ten hours, but our treatment otherwise while in the barracks was quite normal.

At 6 p.m. we were placed in a military motor lorry in charge of an officer and about ten soldiers, and the lorry proceeded along the main road leading to ————. We were both handcuffed separately and were sitting on the floor of the lorry. I was at the rear of the lorry and my brother was at the front, both of us facing in the direction from which we had come. About half a mile outside the town I heard my brother cry out, and immediately a revolver shot rang out. The shout from my brother was in all probability occasioned by his seeing his assailant levelling the revolver at him. A second shot followed immediately, and I fell in the lorry shot through the right shoulder. I gave no provocation whatsoever for this shot, and my brother gave none either. We were both sitting quite still, and were making no effort to escape, as is alleged by the military.

An hour and a half later we were both admitted to the military hospital at ————. During our journey to ———— the military left us lying in the lorry and never approached us to ascertain the extent of our injuries or to succor us in any way, neither did they speak—even amongst themselves—after firing the shots, until we reached the hospital. As my brother uttered no sound during the journey to ————, I believe he was unconscious all the time. I suffered great agony from the wound in the shoulder, but did not speak.

When we reached the hospital we were placed in a ward and our wounds attended to. My brother died almost immediately on being admitted.

On November ——, 1920, I was released from hospital without any charge being preferred against me or without being tried in any way. My right arm from the elbow down is still lifeless, and I am unable to move my fingers. I have to use a crutch also, as my right leg is exceedingly weak, owing to what the military doctor terms "shock" The British authorities never inquired of me as to how the tragic occurrence took place.

(Signed) ————

Summary of Evidence taken by the Commission in the Case of the Croke Park Shootings at Dublin on the Afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920

First witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, I was acting as a ticket-seller at Croke Park football ground, Dublin. I was on the bridge outside the ground when at about 3:45 p. m. I saw lorries filled with Black and Tans approaching. I rushed down from the bridge into the football ground. As I was entering the field I heard shots behind me outside the ground, and a few seconds later I saw the Black and Tans enter the field."

Second witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, at about 3:45 p. m., I saw several lorries filled with Black and Tans arrive on the bridge outside Croke Park football field and pull up. The men in the lorries jumped out and immediately began firing down Russell Street and in the direction of the football field. I saw a man hand something to another man by the railings in Russell Street."

Third witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, I had been out and was returning home when I saw lorries of police pass up Russell Street in the direction of

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Croke Park. This would be about twenty minutes to four o'clock. I then heard a noise and went to see what it was, and saw a man crouching in a bent position by the railings in Russell Street. He was holding on to the railings with his left hand.

"An army officer went up to him and then called to me and asked for water, which I procured for him in a jug. I saw the officer was trying to dress a wound which the man had received in the lower part of the abdomen, but the man was too far gone, and shortly died."

Fourth witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, I was present at the football match at Croke Park, Dublin. I was taking tickets at the turnstile entrance when I saw a boy fall from a tree close by. I then saw 'Black and Tans' coming from the direction of the bridge. They were firing. One of them ordered me to open the gate, and threatened to shoot me if I did not. I opened the gate, and as soon as the Black and Tans got in they began to fire towards the hill the other side of the ground.

"I went to the boy, who was still on the ground, and saw that his jersey was bloodstained near the right shoulder. He said to me: 'Take me to mother.' I picked him up and carried him to the corner of the North Circular Road, where I handed him over to a man I knew, who put him on an outside car and took him away."

Fifth witness stated: "On Sunday, November 21, 1920, I was present at the football match, Croke Park, Dublin. I was accompanied by my fiancee. We were standing near the center line of the ground opposite the grand stand. The match had been in progress about a quarter of an hour when I saw an aeroplane approach, hover over the ground, and then go away. Almost immediately afterwards I heard the sound of shots coming from the direction of the bridge outside the ground, and my fiancee, who had hold of my arm, was shot dead. A few seconds after this Black and Tans rushed into the field through the gate near the bridge, and the people became panic-stricken. I saw the Black and Tans ordering people to put up their hands. I saw no shots fired from the crowd."

Sixth witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, I was acting as an official of the Gaelic Athletic Association at the football match at Croke Park, Dublin. I was on duty at the 2s. entrance gate when I saw an aeroplane fly over the ground and then go away. I immediately after this saw an armored car arriving at the 2s. gate. I informed the secretary of this and walked over to the division between the 1s. and 2s. enclosures. I next heard a volley at the far end of the ground and saw people rushing away from the firing. People were sitting on the wall opposite the grand stand, and when the firing began they dropped off into the Belvedere football ground. I saw no individual policeman firing, but I saw some with their rifles pointed up and I saw smoke overhead. After the volley I heard rapid independent firing. I saw no firing from the crowd. Becoming alarmed, I ran for cover a distance of about eighty yards, and whilst doing so saw the dust and gravel near me fly up from bullets."

Seventh witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, there was a match between Dublin and Tipperary at Croke Park football ground, Dublin. I was in the kitchen of the secretary's house, which is partly inside and partly outside the ground, when, somewhere between 3:30 and 4 p. m., I saw Black and Tans rush past the window. I went out into the back yard and heard shooting as I got through the door. I then saw a man just outside the yard door, which was open. He was in a crouching position, and I saw a man in the R.I.C. uniform go up to him and deliberately shoot him. The man staggered through the yard door and then crawled to a tank the other side of the yard. I informed the police of what had happened, and some came in and saw the man lying in the yard. I tried to give the dying man a glass of water, but was prevented from doing so by a Black and Tan, who threatened me with a rifle. The man was searched whilst he lay in the yard; his dead body was taken away in an ambulance. I saw one of the Association's employees, who had a child in his arms, being pushed against the wall inside the house by a policeman, who threatened him with a revolver. During the whole of the operations I only saw Black and Tans and Auxiliaries—no soldiers."

Eighth witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, there was a match between Dublin and Tipperary at the Croke Park football ground, Dublin. I was on duty at one of the turnstiles, when at about 3:45 p. m. I went into the ground to watch the match. Almost immediately afterwards I saw Black and Tans come into the ground and begin firing at the crowd. I next saw a Black and Tan shoot at a man just outside the house in which the secretary of the Association lives. The man staggered through a door into the yard. I then went into the house and took one of the children up into my arms, when a Black and Tan came and putting a revolver to my throat threatened me."

Ninth witness stated: "On the afternoon of Sunday, November 21, 1920, I was acting as a ticket-seller at the match between Dublin and Tipperary at the Croke Park football ground, Dublin. I was on duty outside the 2s. gate when, on information received, I went inside the ground, and had scarcely done so when I heard shooting. I helped to open the 2s. gate to let in an armored car, after which I got mixed up in the crowd, and was ordered to put my hands up. Whilst in this position an R.I.C. man and an Auxiliary searched me. The Auxiliary took some notes I had amounting to about £8. This sum was part of the ticket-money, and I have not seen it since."

Summary of Evidence given before the Commission in the Case of a Murder and an Attempted Murder

First witness: "At about midnight on Thursday, November 18, 1920, my husband and myself were awakened by a noise of the front door being broken open. My husband went out on the landing. I heard a shot, and my husband staggered back into our bedroom and crouched against the wall near the wardrobe. A man followed him in and emptied further shots from his revolver into him.

"The murderer then held a flash-lamp to my face as I lay in bed. He was dressed in policeman's clothes and wore goggles. I screamed, 'Don't shoot myself and my child; you are after murdering my husband already.' He then left and ran upstairs. Soon afterwards I heard a further shot upstairs, and the man ran down and left the house. My brother had been shot through the mouth. A little time afterwards the Corporation ambulance came, and took my husband's body and my wounded brother to the —— Hospital.

"Except to shout 'All right' to somebody below the murderer never spoke a word. When I awoke the street outside was lit up by a powerful searchlight.

"My husband was not in the Republican movement. He was an ex-soldier and fought in the war. My brother is sixteen and a half years old."

Second witness stated: "I was awakened about midnight in my home by a noise downstairs, and I got up. Hearing the sound of shots downstairs I came out of my room. I was met half-way down the first flight of stairs by a big man dressed in policeman's clothes, holding a revolver in one hand and a flash-lamp in the other. I screamed to him that there was nobody above but two children, and endeavored to prevent him going up. He brushed me on one side and went up. I then heard a shot above, and half fainted. The man then hurried down past me.

"When I got up to my son's room I found him stretched on the floor near the bed, bleeding from the mouth. There were teeth on the landing and there was a trail of blood into the bedroom. Downstairs I later saw the dead body of my son-in-law. My son is sixteen and a half years old and in the Boy Scouts." . . .

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